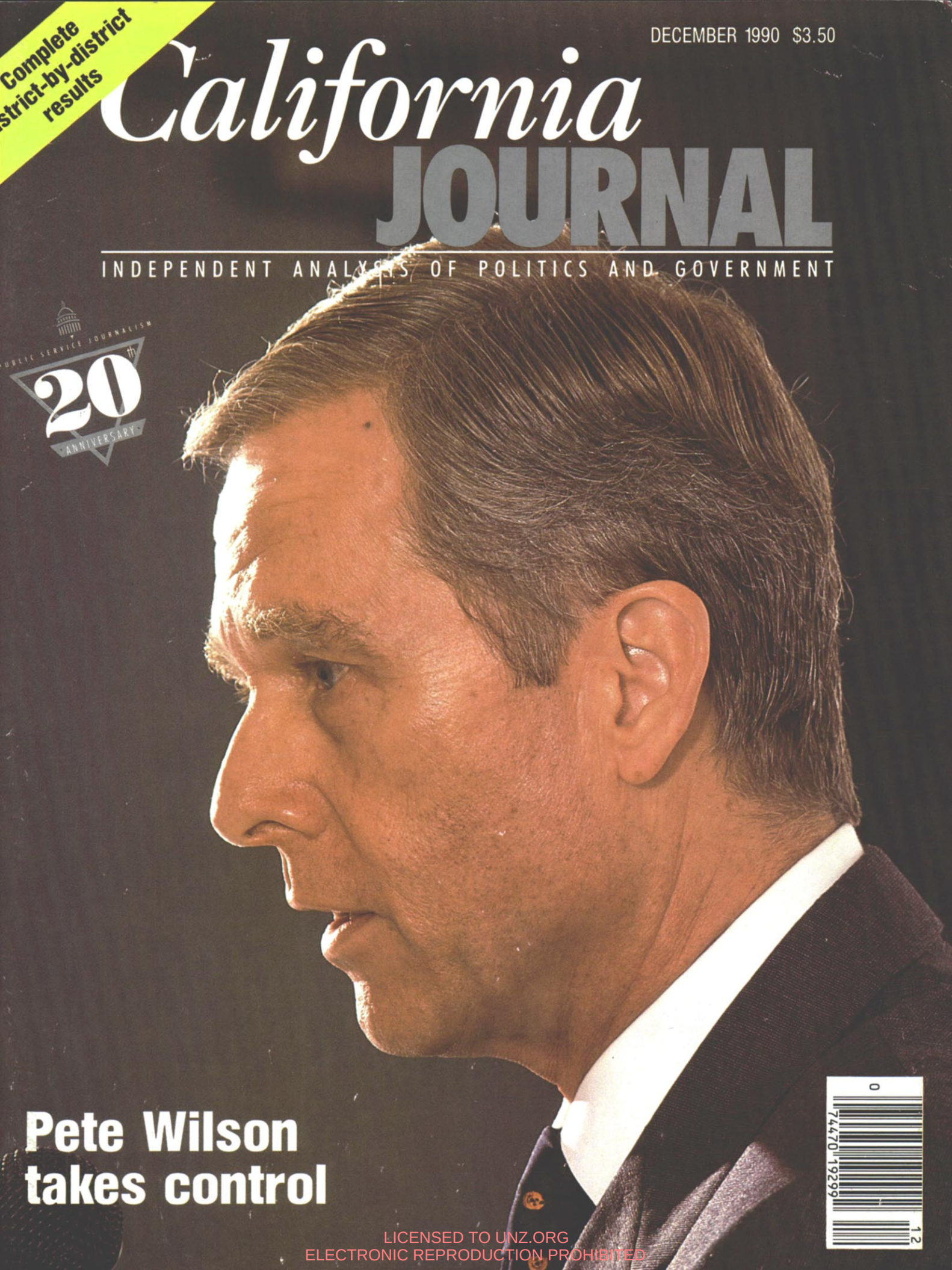
DECEMBER 1990 $3.50

Complete district-by-district results

California JOURNAL

INDEPENDENT ANALYSIS OF POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

PUBLIC SERVICE JOURNALISM
20th ANNIVERSARY



Pete Wilson takes control

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

... It's right here

Winning Data can assist your campaign in targeting those voters most likely to vote in your election! Call us for your Targeting Reports, Walk Lists, Phone Lists, Mailing Labels and Polling Samples.

Our specialty is laser products:

- *Personalized variable text letters*
- *Vote by mail programs*
- *Get out the vote grams/letters*
- *Slate cards*

To place an order call Donna Patterson at (408) 492-9900

WINNING DATA

COMPUTERIZED POLITICAL PRODUCTS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

California Journal

1991 ROSTER & GOVERNMENT GUIDE

California Journal's best-selling publication, the **Roster and Government Guide**, is being completely revised for 1991. It will be included free for all *Journal* subscribers in an upcoming issue.

Reprints: Additional copies fo this **Roster** are available at the following rates: 100 or more copies, 48 cents each; 50-99 copies, 74 cents each; 3-49 copies, $1.24 each; 1 or 2 copies, $2.25 each. Please add 6.75% sales tax plus $2.50 shipping & handling to all orders.

Free Customized Imprinting: Organizations and individuals who order 2000 or more copies at the regular rates may have their name, logo and a short message printed on the cover *free of charge*. If you want a smaller quantity individualized, the cost is $195. Orders must be received by January 10th. For more information and to place orders, contact us at 916-444-2840.

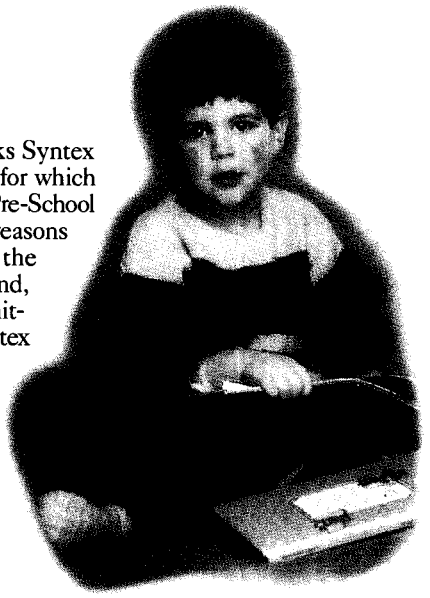
Advertising: The **Roster** provides a unique opportunity to reach well over 100,000 persons with a serious interest in California government and issues *all year long*. For information and rates on advertising in the **Roster** contact: **Jeff Wichmann,** Advertising Director, **916-452-3242.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SYNTEX INVESTED $245 MILLION IN R&D.
IN FISCAL 1989.

A Good Corporate Citizen

Working Mother magazine ranks Syntex among the top 10 companies for which women work. The Children's Pre-School Center was cited among the reasons Syntex is a leader in meeting the needs of working mothers. And, as an expression of our commitment to our communities, Syntex provides more than $3 million annually in corporate contributions, including numerous scholarships for those pursuing the life science studies.

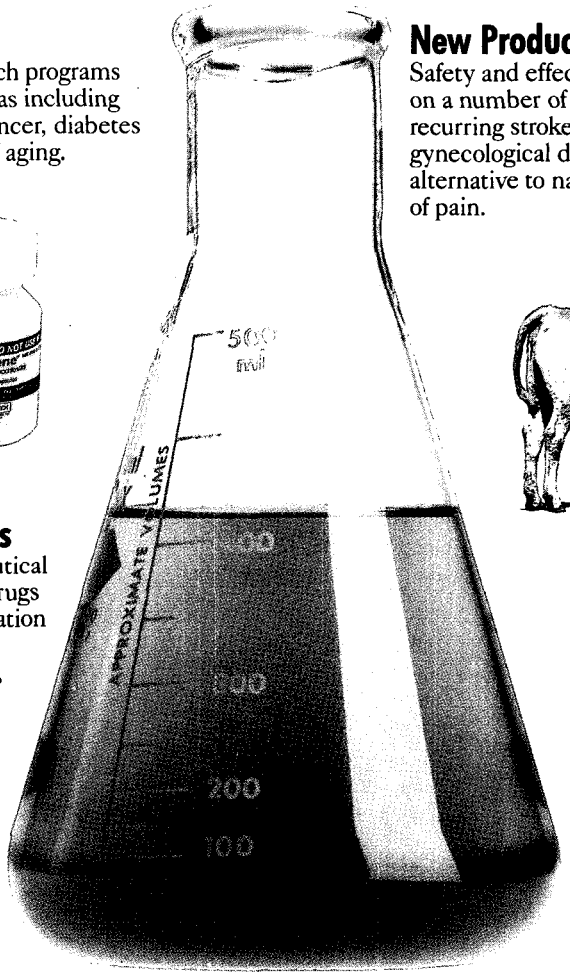


Research

Syntex has major research programs under way in several areas including arthritis, heart disease, cancer, diabetes and the diseases of aging.

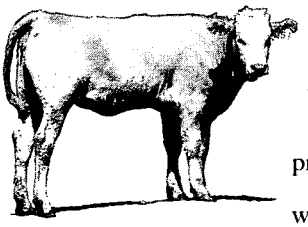
Human Pharmaceuticals

Syntex prescription pharmaceutical products for humans include drugs which relieve pain and inflammation due to arthritis and other conditions, oral contraceptives, agents for the treatment of eczema, dermatitis, and psoriasis, a medication for hay fever and allergies, drugs to treat angina and hypertension, and a product to treat a certain viral infection that causes blindness in AIDS and other immunocompromised patients.



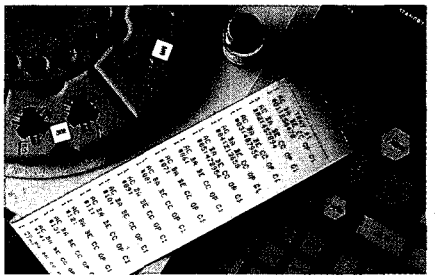
New Products

Safety and effectiveness studies have been concluded on a number of new products: one to prevent initial and recurring strokes, one to treat endometriosis, a painful gynecological disorder, and another which is a potent alternative to narcotics for short-term management of pain.



Animal Health

Our Animal Health products help feed America through safe growth-promoting agents for food producing animals. We also make products which control parasites in cattle, sheep, and horses.



Diagnostics

Syva, our diagnostics company, manufactures tests that are used in 97% of the nation's drug testing laboratories which are certified by the National Institute of Drug Abuse. We have also developed tests for detecting sexually transmitted and other diseases.

Everything we do at Syntex is dedicated to improving the quality of life. Every day, Syntex products touch the lives of millions of Americans.

SYNTEX IS IN BUSINESS FOR LIFE.

SYNTEX
SYNTEX LABORATORIES INC
PALO ALTO CA 94304

© 1990 Syntex Laboratories, Inc.
845-G2-108-89

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DECEMBER 1990
VOLUME XXI, NUMBER 12

California JOURNAL

Election 1990

Wilson's victory 560
Pete Wilson defeated Dianne Feinstein and now inherits a state in disarray. California Journal's election coverage includes a look at how Wilson's new administration is shaping up.
By Richard Zeiger

Senate 1992 564
Thanks to Wilson's election and Alan Cranston's decision not to seek reelection, California will have two U.S. Senate seats up for grabs in 1992. The race is already underway. By Richard Zeiger

Lungren nips Smith 567
Dan Lungren lost on election day, but a Republican tide of absentee votes pushed him past Arlo Smith in the race for attorney general.
By Tom Dresslar

A new shade of Brown 571
Daughter of one governor, sister of another — Kathleen Brown defeats Tom Hayes to become state treasurer.
By James Richardson

Constitutional officers 574
A recap of contests for lieutenant governor, secretary of state, controller, insurance commissioner and board of equalization.
By A.G. Block

Ballot measures 578
Californians enacted term limits for most state officeholders, voted down sweeping environmental measures, an alcohol tax and most bond proposals. What in the world happened?
By A.G. Block and Richard Zeiger

California Journal's
District-by-district analysis 590
A complete look at returns from all congressional, state Senate and Assembly district races.

Three for the road 607
A variety of scandals saw three incumbent congressmen defeated.
By Jim Boren and Michael Doyle

Political spouses 609
They, too, serve who only stand and smile. By Michael Doyle

Up Front 558
Rostrum 559
Washington Perspective 612

Election 1990

Cover photo by Rich Pedroncelli

Publisher, Thomas R. Hoeber; **Editor,** Richard Zeiger; **Managing Editor,** A.G. Block; **Business Manager,** Barbara Rocco; **Production Coordinator,** Roberta-Anne Kaminski; **Art Staff,** Renee Ravizza; **Staff,** Marcia Brown, Ellen Chapman, Michelle Mallory, Dori Meyers, Theresa Nelson, Hope Tuttle Susan Uher; **Washington Correspondent,** Larry Liebert.

Advertising Representative: Media Marketing, (916) 452-3242

Member The Audit Bureau

CALIFORNIA JOURNAL is a non-partisan, non-ideological analysis of California government and politics established in 1970. The *Journal* is indexed in Public Affairs Information Service New York Times Information Bank, Sage Urban Studies Abstracts, Urban Affairs Abstracts, and California Periodicals Index. *California Journal* (ISSN 00081205) is published monthly. Subscription rates: Libraries and Government Agencies, $49; Corporations and Associations, $95; Special Individual rate, $32.00. Address all inquiries to California Journal, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, California 95814. Telephone (916) 444-2840. Copyright 1990 by Information for Public Affairs, Inc. Second class postage paid at Sacramento. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to CALIFORNIA JOURNAL, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, CA 95814

LICENSED TO UA/CDA
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

UP FRONT

Jerry Brown's name didn't appear on any ballot this November, but the former California governor may have been one of the election's big losers. Brown, chairman of the California Democratic Party, had been the target for increasing criticism by fellow Democrats before the election for what was perceived as a failure to mobilize all the party's potential resources. But few people have been as scathing in their post-election comments as Bill Carrick — Dianne Feinstein's campaign manager. Carrick said the party's contribution to the campaign was virtually worthless. "From our standpoint," he said, "the party was absolutely no help at all. There's no institutional Democratic Party, and what there is is more worried about paying the overhead."

Brown, who survived a coup attempt less than a week after the election, reportedly is interested in seeking one of two U.S. Senate seats available from California in 1992. What does Carrick think of that prospect? "There is nothing in this election that would cause me to recommend one person to vote for Jerry Brown for the U.S. Senate," Carrick told a gathering of reporters.

(Dan Blackburn, Los Angeles)

Best retirement plans. Defeated Republican Sunny Mojonnier of La Jolla told the *San Diego Tribune* that losing her Assembly seat after four terms wasn't so bad. Mojonnier said not having to come back to Sacramento was like pancakes at an outdoor Sunday brunch. Er, she didn't put it quite like that. Actually she said it was like "standing naked in the sun and somebody's pouring warm maple syrup all over you." Bet Aunt Jemima never thought of that.

Most gratuitous free shot. Political hit pieces used to arrive only during an election campaign. Now, they show up even after an election is over. Especially unseemly are those that give a defeated candidate one more kick in the ribs. And the winner for 1990 is: Gun Owners of California; its chairman, H.L. Richardson; and its spokesman, John Stoos. On the day after the election, Gun Owners of California sent out a press release gloating over its role in defeating Democratic Assemblyman Norm Waters of Plymouth. Taking its cue from Waters' campaign claim that he was "the last rancher in the Legislature," Stoos' release chortled, "Norm Waters is back on the ranch at last." The broadside featured several quotes from Richardson, touting the help his group gave to Waters' opponent, Republican David Knowles. Richardson, by the way, was identified as "Senator H.L. Richardson." He is not a senator; he is a former senator who chose not to run for reelection in 1988.

Speaking of the gun owners, many campaign brochures and ads attempt to hide or obscure the name of the group paying for them. For instance, a controversy arose when opponents of term limits failed to list Assembly Speaker Willie Brown Jr. and Senate chief David Roberti as sponsors of a television hit piece against Propositions 131 and 140. But the gun owners weren't so shy. In an anti-Norm Waters broadside, for example, the gun owners' disclaimer was prominently featured on three of the brochure's six pages.

Most informed election night interview: To KCRA-TV, Sacramento. KCRA prides itself on its news operations and, in fact, its Capitol correspondent, Steve Swatt, is among the most knowledgeable reporters around. But Swatt spent election night back at KCRA's studio, while another, less-experienced reporter conducted an interview with Assembly Speaker Willie Brown in the speaker's Capitol office. With the camera whirling, that unnamed reporter asked Brown if he was up for reelection in 1990. As Brown press secretary Michael Reese recalled, the speaker patiently (if condescendingly) explained that, as a member of the Assembly, he had to run every two years. The reporter then asked if Brown, whose district has more than 63 percent Democratic registration, was being defeated. That question earned the reporter what Reese described as one of the speaker's most withering looks.

Sacramento's lobbying corps lost one of its most gracious and well-respected members when Richard Dugally passed away in October after a long bout with lung cancer. Dugally was chief lobbyist for Ford Motor Company throughout the West, a job he held for 18 years. In some ways, Dugally beat cancer. Although the disease eventually claimed his life, it never dimmed his spirit. As *San Francisco Chronicle* reporter Rob Gunnison explained in a column shortly after Dugally's death, the 56-year-old lobbyist continued to work up until the time he was hospitalized for the last time, often working alone at night because he was susceptible to infection. He never went on sick leave. To help others similarly afflicted, he organized a support group for cancer patients, with his office a clearing house for messages among group members. As Gunnison wrote, "In a political world filled with cynics, Dugally stood apart. He was absolutely guileless. Because Ford does not give campaign contributions ... he had to succeed on the merits of his arguments. He was enormously proud of that." He will be missed.

"The world is full of people whose notion of a satisfactory future is, in fact, a return to the idealized past."
— Robertson Davies

Come across a blurb lately that's nosy, newsy or smart-alecky about California government, politics or politicians? Share it with the Journal. *We pay up to $25 for entertaining tidbits published in "Up Front." So, rush your items to Up Front, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814. Sorry, submissions cannot be returned.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ROSTRUM

The *California Journal*'s characterization of the solar tax credit bill authored by Senator John Garamendi as special interest legislation in the November issue is a matter of opinion. Had the reporter done his homework, he may have reached another conclusion — that such legislation is of vital state and national interest.

Since 1977 California has supported the development of solar power. The Iraqi crisis proved this to be a wise public-policy decision. Along with making us less dependent upon foreign oil, solar energy promotes clear air and a reduction in global warming. This policy is in keeping with the state's reputation for environmental leadership and technological innovation.

As a direct result of this tax credit and the support of every state energy policy leader more than 354 megawatts of solar power is now being produced in the state. This is equivalent to reducing the amount of imported oil by almost 2.2 million barrels a year.

Apart from the opinion expressed in this article the facts to back it up were wrong. Luz International was incorporated in California in 1979. It is not an Israeli firm. We employ more than 400 people in the state and, during construction of our projects, employ more than 1500 construction workers. As far as campaign contributions to Senator Garamendi, a quick check would have shown that since 1986, Luz has contributed $3250 to Garamendi, a far cry from the $31,050 cited in the story.

— KATHLEEN FLANAGAN
Director of Government Relations
and Public Affairs
Luz International Limited

Editor's note: The $31,050 figures represents Luz' total campaign for the period. The figure does not include the value of a number of Legislative trips to Israel paid for by Luz. Luz is a privately held California corporation whose principals, American inventor Arnold Goldman and French financier Patrick Francois, each holds Israeli citizenship, as well as citizenship in their native countries. The company began its research and development program in Israel before moving to the United States.

Advertisement

STATE NET®

Legislative & Regulatory Reporting

California's FIRST online legislative service brings you:

- ☐ the most advanced features
- ☐ full text of California and Congressional bills included with every service package
- ☐ a proven record of accuracy
- ☐ outstanding client support and training
- ☐ superior value

Go with the Leader!

Call today for a free demonstration or more information about the full range of State Net® services.

916/444-0840

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Photos by Rich Pedroncelli

Pete Wils
a state i

By Ri

If you strain a little, you can just see the state Capitol from the 10th floor of the office building where Pete Wilson has set up his transition office. But blocking the way is a bird's eye view of the Sacramento Cathedral. And that may turn out to be more fitting, since it could take a whole lot of prayer for Pete Wilson to succeed as governor.

Wilson will take office January 7th with a raft of things going against him.

First, he just managed to win the job, receiving less than a majority of the votes cast for governor — hardly the kind of mandate that will kowtow a Legislature dominated by Democrats. To make matters worse, the legislators — even most in his own party — are angry because he was the most visible backer of a ballot initiative that will limit most of them to six years in office.

Then, of course, there is the fact that California faces a host of problems that might be all but unsolvable, including a deteriorating education system, vast numbers of working Californians who have no health care, an increasingly visible homeless problem, and voter concerns about crime despite a record number of people behind bars.

To top it off, the chances are good he will have fewer resources to deal with those problems. Within two weeks of his election, Wilson was notified by outgoing Governor George Deukmejian that the state's budget, put together last summer with chewing gum and bailing wire, is falling apart. Revenues as of October were down nearly $500 million with worse news likely. To make matters worse, demands on what money does exist are on the rise because welfare and Medi-Cal caseloads increase as the economy falters.

Yet Wilson, a California public servant for nearly a quarter-century, eagerly embraces this office he has sought for much of that time. Wilson always appeared more comfortable in an executive role — for example, when he was mayor of San Diego — than in legislative positions, either the state Assembly, where he served three terms, or the U.S. Senate, the job he has held for the past eight years. And despite the daunting array of obstacles before him, Wilson perhaps comes to the governorship with a broader and more complete agenda than any governor during the past 24 years.

Wilson came perilously close to losing the campaign, however. The gubernatorial election took place during a summer when public opinion was in turmoil. Early in the election year, the argument could be made that voters were ready for change. There were even signs that they were will-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

n inherits disarray

eiger

ing to open their pocketbooks in order to get the state moving again. In that atmosphere, both candidates advertised themselves as candidates of change.

It seemed a time ready-made for former San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein to sweep into office. Coming off an impressive primary campaign victory over Attorney General John Van de Kamp, Feinstein appeared the candidate of change, not only because she was a woman but also because of her perceived ability to use television in a state where that medium is crucial to a statewide candidate.

Furthermore, on issues of concern to voters, there seemed to be little difference between Wilson and Feinstein. Both favored maintaining women's abortion rights, both favored the death penalty, both said more attention needed to be paid to the state's youngsters and, although they differed on financial questions, neither took a "no new taxes pledge."

When an issue did appear — as it did shortly after the primary on the question of "quotas" in government appointments — the damage-control mechanisms were the one aspect of each campaign that worked like clockwork.

In this sort of atmosphere, Feinstein would have appeared to hold the advantage — except for one crucial element: She came out of the June primary almost broke, while Wilson was sitting on millions of dollars. The San Francisco mayor failed to capitalize on the popularity she had garnered by winning the primary and by becoming the first woman to hold a major party nomination for governor. And she allowed Wilson to put her on the defensive. Every time she was able to raise a little cash, it had to be used to counter some sort of Wilson charge, be it quotas or the campaign involvement of her husband, financier Richard Blum. She was unable to raise enough to turn the campaign to subjects where she might shine.

The campaign began to bog down in a series of uninteresting charges and responses. That might have been fine for Wilson, who has made bland his hallmark in public office. But it worked against Feinstein, who seemed not new and interesting but only another pol, this time in a petticoat. At the same time, the polls showed that her support among women voters, which had been strong, began to wither.

Wilson's campaign seemed the steadier. He had a clear concept of what he wanted to do as governor. The Feinstein campaign, bogged down with the counter charges and a shortage of money, never had a chance to put its themes forward. To make matters worse, the attitudes of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

voters were changing rapidly.

Following the invasion of Kuwait by the Iraqis, and the massive military deployment ordered by President George Bush, voters fearful of war became more cautious. The rising price of oil began to take its toll on the American economy, and the Congress and the president couldn't reach agreement on a new federal budget.

Some of these events worked to favor each of the candidates. Wilson, with a reputation as a hawk on defense matters, appeared to benefit from the concern about war, and perhaps initially over concerns about the economy. With about two weeks to go in the campaign, the Wilson camp figured they were up at least eight points.

Feinstein finally managed to get Wilson on the defensive, criticizing him for campaigning in California when he really should have been in Washington working on a budget solution. She drove him out of the state after their first television debate, and he stayed away long enough to avoid a second. Still, the absence from the campaign trail may have done Wilson good. It turned out he was a better campaigner when acting like a senator than when actually running for office.

Just before election day, it was becoming clear voters were beginning to feel they had had enough of incumbents, and Feinstein finally discovered a populist voice that was scoring points with the electorate. A series of court decisions removed the money-raising restrictions that had been imposed by voters in 1988 under Proposition 73, allowing Feinstein to collect an infusion of last-minute cash that enabled her to reach voters with her own message.

By election day, the two were no doubt within a point or two of each other.

It was then that the superior Republican technical preparation paid off. The Republican Party spent heavily for voter registration, signing up twice as many new voters as did Democrats. They also ran an aggressive absentee-voter drive, a trick they learned the hard way from Democrats in a couple of special elections last year. And on election day, they had a much better get-out-the-vote drive. Democrats faltered badly in all these areas. Former Governor Jerry Brown, now the head of the Democratic Party, never raised the money he needed for these campaigns, and internal dissention resulted in his dismissal of the man he had hired to run the voter registration effort. Party leaders decided the effort was too expensive and that the money could be better spent on television ads.

Some party members were quick to blame Brown, including Assemblyman John Burton of San Francisco, who said Brown should be ousted from his party job. But at least part of the blame belongs on legislative leaders. Speaker Willie Brown and Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti did as much as they could to bleed off money to the campaign against term limits, money that might otherwise have been used for statewide campaigns.

The semi-final returns left Wilson about 200,000 votes ahead.

The Wilson crew quickly took control of the 10th floor office some three blocks from the Capitol, and the governor-elect began to surround himself with staff members who had guided him through the campaign, many of whom had been with him for years.

For his chief of staff he chose the amiable Robert White, who has been with him since his days in the state Assembly. Otto Bos, who was the campaign manager, became director of communications, a post he expects to hold for nine months to a year before returning full-time to his home in San Diego. As appointments secretary, Wilson picked Terry Flanigan, who holds that same job with Deukmejian. He added to the group defeated state Treasurer Tom Hayes as his director of Finance.

The group seemed jovial in its first week, and White flashed a two-inch thick stack of telephone messages, most from Republicans eager for jobs with Wilson.

But it wasn't long before Deukmejian, in a four-hour briefing with Wilson, broke the news about just how bad the state's budget crunch would be. Through October, revenues were off more than $400 million, and the drop-off seemed to be accelerating. Even more ominous is a reputed drop in sales-tax revenue, a bellweather for the economy's overall health. Furthermore, when all the bills are counted, Deukmejian expects to have less cash on had than he anticipated at the end of the last fiscal year. At the same time, the cost of government is rising. More people are going on welfare and seeking health care from state-financed facilities. There are more children in schools, and the prison population continues to soar.

Deukmejian tried to take the burden on himself, ordering a 1 percent cut in most state programs and calling for the Legislature to act this month on changes — including suspension of education's Proposition 98 financing guarantee — that would result in savings of $700 to $800 million more. But lawmakers are unlikely to deal with a lame-duck governor on such sensitive issues, and most of the burden will fall on Wilson.

Wilson, of course, has not been ignorant of his likely starting position, although the magnitude of it must be something of a surprise. But unlike Deukmejian, Wilson is prepared to deal with the Legislature — even one angry over his support for term limits.

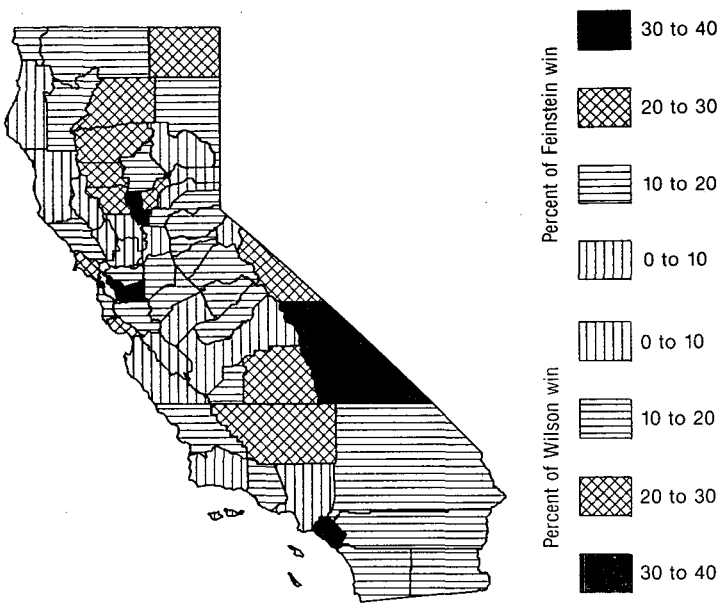
"The old bromide is correct," said Wilson in a post-election interview with the *California Journal*, "In politics, all alliances are temporary.

"No one is really in a position to effectively hold a grudge and exert that kind of personal animus for very long ... unless they don't care about being effective themselves," he offered.

Wilson during his campaign refused to say he will not

Continued on page 564

Wilson vs Feinstein



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

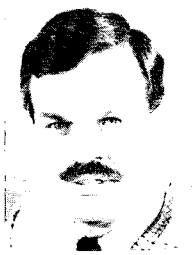
The new Wilson team

Robert White displayed a stack of telephone message about two inches thick.

"I never knew I had so many friends," said White with a chuckle.

New friends are one of the perquisites that come with being the chief of staff to Governor-elect Pete Wilson

White



Bos

and, for the next two months, it may be the most plentiful.

Wilson has literally hundreds of jobs to fill in his administration and there is no shortage of would-be applicants. Indeed, in the two weeks after Wilson's election, the reception area of the transition offices were sometimes crammed with job-seekers, quietly filling out application forms in the hope of landing or — in the case of those currently in the Deukmejian administration — retaining state jobs.

So far, Wilson's personal staff has a familiar look, both to those who have worked with the Senator and those who have had dealings with Deukmejian.

White, 48, has been with Wilson for years, first joining the senator when he was in the state Assembly, then moving to San Diego for a tenure in the mayor's office and finally to Washington. He has been his chief of staff since 1971.

White is outgoing where Wilson is restrained, but the two have forged a strong working relationship over the years. White will not be the single dominant administration figure, as was Steve Merksamer in the early Deukmejian administration, or Michael Frost more recently.

But he is described as a "strong leader" who is comfortable with Wilson's style of working directly with lower level staff on specific subjects.

"He doesn't have to be in on everything, but if there are problems, he's the one to go to," noted one Wilson staff member

Also still with Wilson is Otto Bos. A native of the Netherlands who came to the United States when he was 13, Bos, 47, will be Wilson's director of Communications, at least for the first nine to 12 months of the administration. In the long run, Bos intends to stay in San Diego, and will be something of a commuter during the period he is on the state payroll. Bos and George Gorton were the principals behind the Wilson gubernatorial campaign. Bos has long acted as Wilson's press spokesman, particularly when it comes to political matters, and occasionally writes some of Wilson's speeches. To most of the state's political press, Bos seems to hold the secret to Wilson's state of mind. In the new administration, he will also have some responsibility for scheduling and public outreach programs.

Another holdover is Bill Livingstone, 38, who will have the title of press secretary. He has been with Wilson in Washington since 1985, has developed a reputation for efficiency and helpfulness with the press. Livingstone, a graduate of Montana State University who did a year at the USC film school and studied at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, handles most of the day-to-day press dealings. Wilson puts more emphasis on press than does Deukmejian, and in the past his press office has always been well-informed about Wilson's activities.

Also out from Washington is Margaret "Margo" Reid, who was Wilson's personal assistant and will have the title of scheduling director in the new administration, a task she also had during the campaign. Reid is a graduate of the University of Southern California.

Flanigan

Kaye

Livingstone

Hayes

Joining the this staff are a couple of members of the Deukmejian administration.

Loren Kaye, who is policy director for Wilson, was deputy cabinet secretary for Deukmejian until he joined the Wilson campaign as director of research.

A graduate of UC San Diego, Kaye, 34, has also worked in past campaigns for both Wilson and Deukmejian when he was not working as an analyst and lobbyist for the California Taxpayers' Association.

Terrance Flanigan, who is Wilson's appointments secretary, currently holds that same title in the Deukmejian administration. A lawyer with a law degree from UC Davis, Flanigan gained most of his Sacramento experience as a lobbyist, including several years as the contract lobbyist for the State Bar and for more than a year as the director of legislative affairs for the

Hauck

Reid

California Manufacturers Association. Flanigan is also an accomplished artist. Deukmejian recently appointed him to the Board of Trustees of the California State University.

The lone government outsider in this group is William Hauck, who is the head of the Wilson transition advisory committee, a group Wilson has assembled to help with the development of the new administration. Hauck has a long history in the Assembly in a variety of staff positions, including service as chief of staff to former Speaker Bob Moretti and as administrative chief of staff to Willie Brown.

Hauck is currently executive vice president and a director for Information for Public Affairs, a firm that markets an electronic bill-tracking service called StateNet for California, and for 49 other state legislatures. Information for Public Affairs is *California Journal's* parent company.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

raise taxes, and that position gives him a chance to negotiate with a Legislature dominated by Democrats.

But if Wilson goes for a tax increase, it will be reluctantly, and not before winning concessions from Democrats that will give him more flexibility to set budgeting priorities. It's the same power Deukmejian wanted during this summer's budget impasse, but Deukmejian was hampered because he refused to approve of any revenue boost that might look like a tax increase.

However, Wilson at one point might have hoped that he would have some flexibility in timing a tax increase — putting it off for a year if lawmakers proved particularly stubborn. Now, there is less chance that will happen, and Wilson may be forced to seek a major deal before the year is out.

Wilson confessed surprise at the size of the October revenue deficit. "It's down by $270 million for that month alone. I don't know who was prepared to make such a bold and unpleasant prediction. That's a hell of a jolt," Wilson noted.

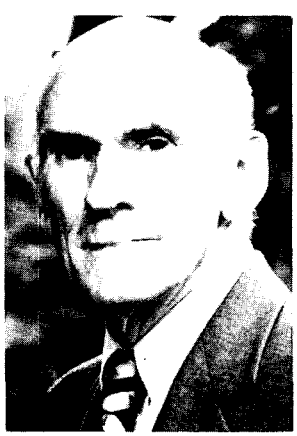
To lawmakers, Wilson will seem a very unusual type governor. Where Deukmejian was aloof from the legislative process — to the point where legislators couldn't get his opinion on a bill when they wanted it — Wilson will be involved. He has already begun loading his staff with policy experts, most imported from his Washington Senate office, who can be expected to prepare legislation for consideration by the state Senate and Assembly. Deukmejian had few policy people on his immediate staff. On the rare occasions when he wanted policy changes proposed, he turned to the administrators he had chosen to run the state's bureaucracies. Thus, it wasn't surprising to find him disavowing the policies they proposed.

The Wilson administration is also likely to be less

With Wilson and Cranston gone, the race is on for '92

It had to be a grim decision for U.S. Senator Alan Cranston. Although the chorus was rising in his own party for the 22-year Senate veteran to say this would be his last term, Cranston had doggedly insisted he would not be driven from office by the charges he had done special favors for former savings-and-loan executive Charles Keating Jr. Politically tenacious all his life, the 76-year-old Cranston has been a political figure in California since he became state controller in 1958.

But in the past year, as more and more evidence of Cranston's involvement with Keating surfaced, some members of his own party spoke openly of challenging him when his term expires in 1992. Indeed, there was even some talk that if Dianne Feinstein became governor, Cranston would resign so she could give his successor a head start two years from now.



Cranston

Still, there was more than a little surprise when Cranston, just a few days after the November elections, called a press conference to announce that he had prostate cancer and would spend his time battling the disease — which typically is not fatal if caught early — rather than seeking another term.

That left Californians with the interesting prospect of having two U.S. Senate seats up for grabs in 1992.

The other one, of course, belongs to Pete Wilson, who will appoint his own successor, presumably sometime between now and shortly after he takes office on January 7th.

The sudden bounty of open seats has set off something of a frenzy among the politically ambitious in both parties.

Republicans, of course, have the luxury of courting both the electorate and Wilson individually.

Wilson has said little about who he would appoint, other than it should be "someone who largely shares my views." Part of the criteria will no doubt be the ability to raise money and win, since whomever is appointed will have to run for reelection in 1992, and then again two years later when Wilson's term would normally expire. But because Wilson is a constituency of one for this appointment, and every incumbent officeholder has a free ride, it has opened the competition to some who otherwise might not consider, or have much chance in, an arduous statewide campaign.

Notable in this category are members of the state's Republican congressional delegation. Running for statewide office in California is tough for representatives. Washington is far away, and the coverage they get pales in comparison to legislators, or even to local officeholders in the larger counties. At one point or the other the names of Tom Campbell of Palo Alto, Bob Dornan of Garden Grove, David Drier of La Verne, Duncan Hunter of Coronado, Jerry Lewis of Redlands, Bill Lowery of San Diego and Bill Thomas of Bakersfield all have surfaced. Each has strengths and weak-

Davis

Feinstein

Maddy

Lewis

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hierarchical than was that of George Deukmejian. Chiefs of staff to Deukmejian were powerful figures through whom virtually all work flowed. While White by virtue of his long tenure will have ample power, Wilson is more likely to deal directly with a wider range of his staff.

During the campaign, Wilson offered initiatives on prenatal health care, education, law enforcement and even extending health-care coverage to the four to five million working Californians who now have none. Most of those programs will cost money — and they will need the approval of the Legislature.

Wilson views this as an opportunity for everyone to win.

"The result, I hope, is going to be a benefit to the public, because we'll make some needed changes and deal with real problems. As a result, the Legislature will feel better about itself, and the people will feel better about the Legislature," he said. "There should be ample credit to go around, if we, in fact, do the kinds of things that will be necessary to make change."

Feinstein (D)	3,497,875	(46%)
Wilson (R)	**3,763,151**	**(49%)**
McCready (AI)	138,512	(2%)
Thompson (L)	144,554	(2%)
Munoz (P&F)	95,851	(1%)

nesses, but some — notably Dornan and Hunter — lack the "compatibility" criteria Wilson has set.

From the state Legislature, Senators Ken Maddy of Fresno and Rebecca Morgan of Los Altos Hills have been mentioned. Other political figures, out of both the present and the past, have

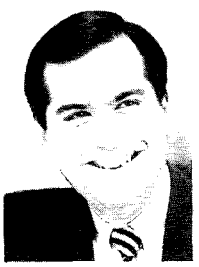
Matsui

Boxer

Levine

Brown

not been eliminated from the speculation. Silicon Valley executive Ed Zschau, who barely lost to Cranston four years ago, was considered a leading possibility until he took himself out of the running due to business commitments. Television commentator Bruce Herschenson is openly lusting for high office, and there has been talk that U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills is a possibility. Also on the rumor list is Orange County Supervisor Gaddi Vasquez, former Assemblyman Robert Naylor, and even former Congresswoman Bobbi Fiedler of Los Angeles. Even Palm Springs Mayor



Vasquez

Fiedler

Sonny Bono has offered himself up as a prospect for the job.

Whichever Republican gets the nod, there will be no shortage of Democratic opponents — although Democrats presumably would prefer to run for the Cranston seat, both because it is a six-year term and because there will be no Republican incumbent to oppose.

Catapulting to the top of the list is Dianne Feinstein, who is viewed as a seasoned and popular candidate despite her narrow loss to Wilson. Then there is a brace of congressional representatives who have been interested in moving to the Senate for some time. Sacramento's Robert Matsui said he would challenge Cranston even before

Morgan

Campbell

the senator said he was out of the race. San Francisco's Barbara Boxer has also announced her intention, although she will have to stay out of Feinstein's way should her former hometown mayor also run. And in Los Angeles, Mel Levine has been stockpiling money in anticipation of a try for the Senate. It should be noted, though, that it's been more than 20 years since anyone from Congress has succeeded in winning statewide office. John Tunney did it in 1970, and served only one term in the Senate.

State Controller Gray Davis, having passed on the race for governor, must be looking for a way to advance his career, and Leo McCarthy has too much intelligence and energy to be happy as lieutenant governor for another four years. State Senator Gary Hart made a try for Congress two years ago and has flirted with the notion of running for governor. Then, of course, there is Jerry Brown, former governor and currently chairman of the state Democratic Party. The belief was widespread that Brown hoped his current job could be a springboard back to statewide office. But there are those who are blaming him for losses by Feinstein and attorney general candidate Arlo Smith. Still, just because hardly anybody in his own party wants him to run is no reason to count Brown out.

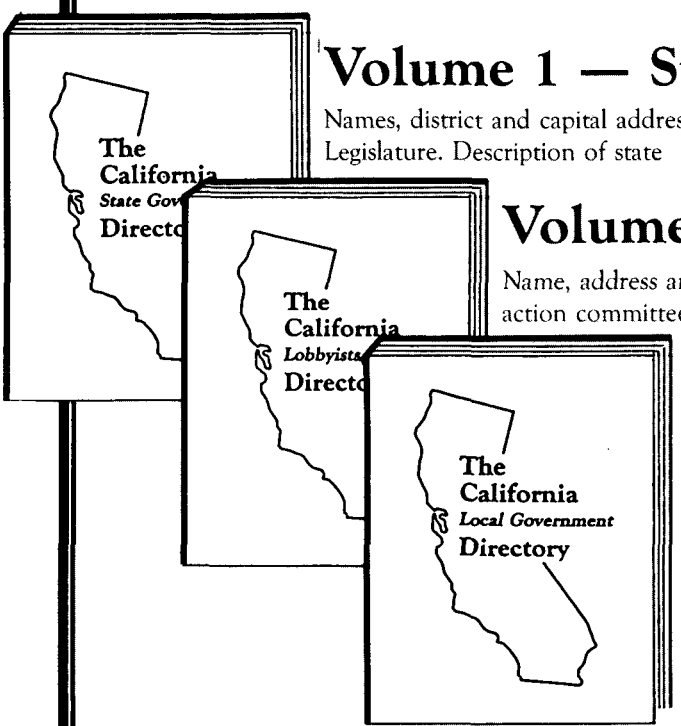
Finally, this is California, after all, and there is always the possibility that someone unexpected — the California equivalent of Lee Iacocca — will come out of nowhere to run for the post. Don't forget the Republican infatuation with Peter Uberroth only a year ago.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Get 1990 Free, if you order 1991 now!

The California Directories

The three-volume set is an indispensible tool for corporate relations officers, researchers, lobbyists, press and government agencies who need to know who's who in California government and public affairs. *The California Directories* provide a quick way to identify the key players in state and local policy making.



Volume 1 — State Government

Names, district and capital addresses, phone numbers, party affiliation, and staff of the Legislature. Description of state departments and their top staff. 144 pages, 8½ x 11".

Volume 2 — Lobbyists/PAC's

Name, address and phone numbers of lobbyists, firms and employers and political action committees. 213 pages, 8½ x 11".

Volume 3 — Local Government

Every city and county with its address and phone number and top elected and appointed officials. 346 pages, 8½ x 11".

"The indispensible government reference tool."

Special Offer: Order now for 1991 and get 1990 Free!

Order now for 1991 and get 1990 Free: two years of up-to-date information for the price of one. A unique information system at a unique price!

This set is a joint production of **State Net**®, the nation's leading on-line 50-state legislative and regulatory reporting service, and ***California Journal.***

ORDER FORM

1991 California Directory

☐ Volume I, $50.00. ☐ Volume III, $50.00.

☐ Volume II, $50.00.

☐ Any Two, $85.00 (a savings of 15%) ☐ All Three, $120.00. (a savings of 20%)

I understand I will get the 1990 edition of the books I order right now; the 1991 editions will be shipped on publication.

Name _____

Organization _____

Address _____

_____ Zip _____

Telephone # _____ / _____

Please add 6.75 percent sales tax plus $2.50 handling to all orders.

Send check, P.O. or credit card number for the correct amount to *California Journal*, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814.

For immediate orders or more information call 916/444-2840.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pellate court to uphold his effort to block development in the Lake Tahoe Basin.

Administratively, Van de Kamp established a separate Division of Public Rights, responsible for carrying out the office's duties relative to civil rights, antitrust, and consumer and environmental protection. And he created a Correctional Law Section solely devoted to defending the state in lawsuits filed by prisoners.

Where will Lungren likely fit in the historical scheme?

If past statements and voting records are any indication, Lungren will zealously pursue the attorney general's crime-fighting role. And he may blaze new trails in the area of political ethics enforcement. But Lungren, a former congressman from Long Beach, will not display similar vigor in the areas of civil rights, antitrust, and environmental and consumer protection. Lungren gave up his congressional seat after Governor George Deukmejian appointed him to be state treasurer following the death of Democrat Jesse Unruh. The state Senate, however, deemed Lungren too political, and perhaps too attractive as a future Republican officeholder, and denied him the job.

Lungren best expressed his outlook on his new job when he told supporters at a campaign fundraiser, "I'm not running for attorney general because of the civil side ... I'm concerned about crime, gangs and public integrity."

Besides issuing the standard tough-on-crime fare during the campaign, Lungren also railed against the American Civil Liberties Union's alleged domination of legislative committees on anti-crime bills. He vowed to use his office as a bully pulpit if and when the ACLU and liberal supporters block crime measures his office supports.

Lungren might have less occasion to mount the bully pulpit than he imagines. The Assembly Committee on Public Safety — the usual target of liberals-block-anti-crime-bills charges — approved about 90 percent of the measures it considered in the 1989-90 session. Lungren has indicated prosecution of political ethics violations will be one of his top priorities. He has pledged to appoint a "public integrity deputy" who will report directly to him.

Beyond the areas of crime and political ethics, however, Lungren has demonstrated little taste for the proactive stance adopted by his Democratic and Republican predecessors.

- On the environment, attorneys general from Younger to current Governor George Deukmejian to Van de Kamp have actively fought the federal government's efforts to expand offshore oil drilling off California's coast. Lungren opposes a ban on offshore drilling, preferring a case-by-case approach. He has indicated he would not oppose drilling in non-environmentally sensitive areas. Ongoing studies, Lungren has said, will help determine how much of the coastline should be protected. As a congressman, Lungren voted against the Clean Water Act and the Clean Air Act.
- On civil rights, Lungren's predecessors have used their power to fight housing developers who discriminate. When he was attorney general, current state Supreme Court Justice Stanley Mosk established a separate Civil Rights Unit. Van de Kamp won the Rotary Club decision. In Congress, Lungren voted against the Civil Rights Act of 1984, bills to strengthen federal fair housing laws and measures to prohibit discrimination by real estate appraisers.
- On antitrust, Mosk established an Antitrust Unit and greatly expanded the office's legal efforts in this area. Van de Kamp won the landmark ruling this year in a case involving the merger of the Lucky and Alpha Beta supermarket chains. Lungren cautions against assuming "bigness is badness." He has signaled that he will take a cautious approach to antitrust enforcement actions. His decisions on whether to pursue such cases, he has said, will depend on what he calls "two bedrock principles:" the impact on consumers and the impact on competition, including the ability of California industry to compete in the world market.

Mergers, said Lungren, might help California's position in Pacific Rim trade. "It would be foolhardy for an attorney general to go off half-cocked on an independent action," he added, without gauging its potential impact on California's economy.

For his part, Lungren rejects criticism of his voting record in Congress. His votes, he maintains, reflect fiscal concerns, not antipathy to civil rights or environmental protection. And he has vowed to carry out all the duties of the office.

Said Lungren, "I [will] be very much an attorney general in the mold of the way I performed in Congress; someone who is willing to take on the system if necessary to change things. I will be vigorous in enforcing the law. I'm not going to the Attorney General's Office to be a caretaker."

But the record clearly shows Lungren likely will bring to an end, at least temporarily, the era of expansion in the attorney general's non-cop roles. It remains to be seen whether he will preside over a period of retrenchment.

Advertisement

Hotel El Rancho
Resort/Conference Center

Have the convenience of your own office in Sacramento

CORPORATE BUSINESS CENTER

Complimentary services for our Corporate guests — Fax, copier, calculator, typewriter, newspapers, mail service

$49.00 CORPORATE RATES $55.00
sgl + tax Room upgrade upon availability dbl + tax

WEEKLY RATES FROM $210

250 Rooms on 17 acres — Meeting & Banquet facilities for 750
Racquet & Fitness Club, free to guests

(800) 952-5566 • (916) 371-6731
1029 West Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95691

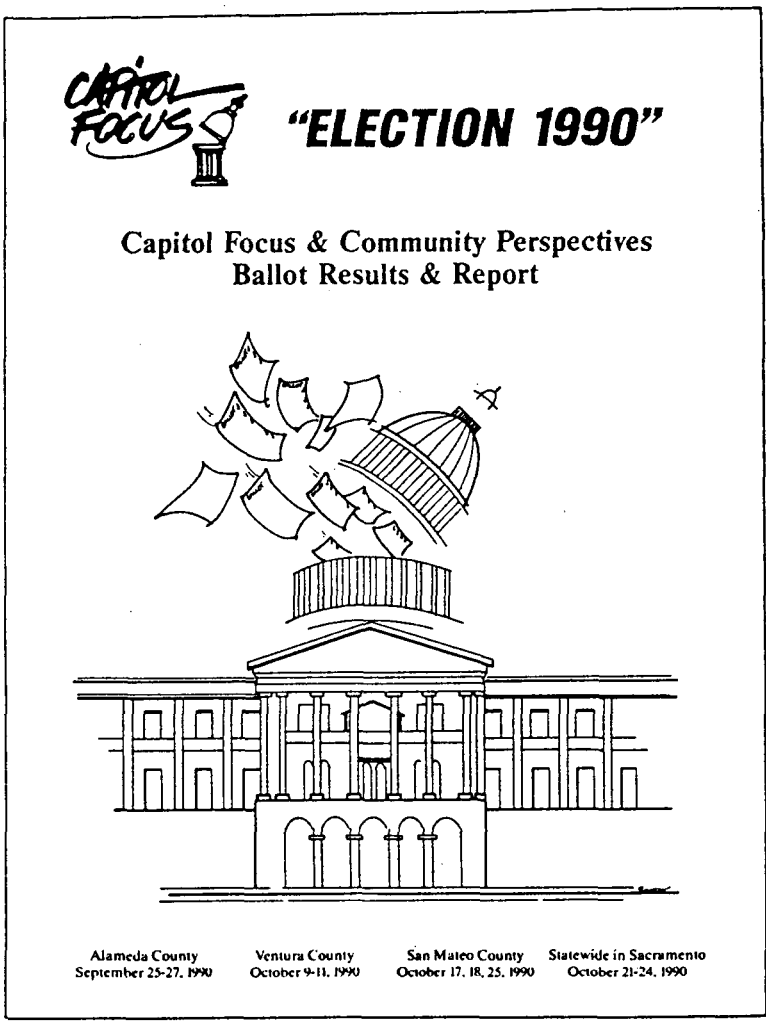
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BALLOT RESULTS NOW AVAILABLE!

From Six Different Capitol Focus Programs Throughout California

This fall, the Capitol Focus project completed our most ambitious series of programs to date! In just over five weeks, more than 500 high school students from throughout the state participated in six election related political awareness programs. Each program was designed to familiarize pariticipants with the issues and candidates on the November ballot. The results of their votes are summarized in this falls **"ELECTION 1990!" Capitol Focus & Community Perspectives Ballot Results & Report.**

Capitol Focus Founding Sponsors:
California Journal Inc.
California Teachers Association
Chevron USA Inc.
Great Western Financial Corporation
Pacific Telesis Group



HERE'S A SAMPLE OF WHAT'S INSIDE.....

	Alameda County	Ventura County	San Mateo (17th)	San Mateo (18th)	San Mateo (25th)	Statewide Progress	Totals
1. The Race for Governor							
Feinstein	47%	57%	42%	47%	42%	56%	47%
Wilson	53%	43%	58%	53%	58%	44%	53%
11. Prop 128: Natural Environment. Public Health. Bonds.; An initiative statute to make significant changes in the way the state regulates a number of environmental and natural resource issues.							
Yes	62%	48%	49%	99%	63%	52%	62%
No	38%	52%	51%	1%	37%	48%	38%
17. Prop 134: The Alcohol Tax of 1990; A constitutional amendment and statute that imposes a surtax on beer, wine and liquor, creates a fund to collect surtax revenues, and specifies how they shall be spent.							
Yes	24%	59%	66%	74%	65%	62%	58%
No	76%	41%	34%	26%	35%	38%	42%
23. Prop 140: Terms of Office, Legislators' Retirement, Legislative Operating Costs.; A constitutional amendment to limit the number of terms an individual may serve in the same office, regulate retirement benefits, and limits legislative salary and office expenditures.							
Yes	36%	30%	46%	—	53%	17%	34%
No	64%	70%	54%	—	47%	83%	66%

This publication is now available from our offices.
For a copy, or more information on our programs, please contact:

Capitol Focus
1714 Capitol Avenue
Sacramento, CA 95814
(916) 443-2229

CAPITOL FOCUS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Absentee ballots give Lungren the edge

By Tom Dresslar

Smith (D)	3,349,224	(46.4%)
Lungren (R)	**3,379,606**	**(46.8%)**
Gautreau (L)	254,090	(3.5%)
Evans (P&F)	240,514	(3.3%)

In 1972 former California Attorney General Robert Kenny observed that a "smart AG could practically take over the state from a dumb governor — if he had a mind to."

Kenny's comment accurately reflected the power and stature inherent in an office that has evolved from a backwater of government into the second-most visible and coveted elective post in the state. As another former attorney general, Evelle Younger, said in 1985, "The attorney general may just be the most important officer in the state."

Against that backdrop, a central question of the November 1990 election might be, "Why did Californians choose as their new top law-enforcement official a man who has never prosecuted a criminal case in his life; a man who, as critics like to say, qualifies only for an entry-level position in the office he now leads?"

Like many political questions, the inquiry about Republican Dan Lungren's razor-thin victory over Democrat Arlo Smith has many possible answers.

One could say Lungren will succeed Democrat John Van de Kamp because Los Angeles District Attorney Ira Reiner choked. Once upon a time, Reiner was considered a shoe-in to roll over Smith in the Democratic primary and, subsequently, any Republican who stood in his way in the general election. In fact, some observers considered Lungren the GOP's sacrificial lamb in an unwinnable race — a consolation prize for the man the state Senate wouldn't let become state treasurer. But Reiner blundered

Tom Dresslar is capital bureau chief for the Los Angeles Daily Journal.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

away the primary to Smith, a much less charismatic and monied candidate.

Maybe it's because when voters think of the attorney general, they think of cops and robbers. They don't think of the office's other duties, like environmental and consumer protection, and civil-rights and antitrust enforcement. That mindset may have prevented Smith from fully exploiting Lungren's weaknesses. Those vulnerabilities included Lungren's staunch opposition to abortion rights and what critics consider anti-environment and anti-civil rights voting records as a congressman from Long Beach.

Or maybe Smith waited too long to air commercials that attacked Lungren on those issues. It's true that during a nasty and bitterly-fought campaign, Smith hit Lungren on abortion and the environment. But until the late stages, he launched the attacks through press releases and news conferences. Such stuff usually winds up in the newspapers — not the primary source of campaign information for most voters.

Or part of the explanation could be that Smith got lost in the shuffle of Democratic Party priorities. Maybe he would have defeated Lungren if party leaders had worried as much about retaining the office as they did about defeating two ballot initiatives to limit the terms of elected officials. As it turned out, voters approved Proposition 140, the initiative with the strictest limits.

But the answer with the most credence is probably, "absentee voting."

Before an approximate 400,000 absentee ballots were counted, Smith had a 30,000-vote lead over Lungren. After they were tabulated, Lungren had the lead and the victory.

It's hardly unusual for absentee votes to go the Republican's way. But what is unusual — and worrisome to those concerned about the potential for fraud — is the large number of absentee ballots cast in the November election. It was the Republican Party that mounted the most aggressive absentee-ballot campaign. Ironically, it was the Democratic Party that first moved in 1976 to liberalize the absentee-voting process.

The importance of the absentee vote was not lost on Lungren. When he declared victory nine days after the election, Lungren said, "In 1976, when the liberalization of the absentee-vote process started, it was not my party that was encouraging it. The other party thought it might be a good thing and, under the circumstances, I think they were correct. I'll seek wisdom wherever I can find it."

Election post-mortem aside, the important question for Californians now is, "What kind of attorney general will Dan Lungren be?" Some historical context is needed to fully answer the question.

Established in 1849, the Attorney General's Office originally was supported only by part-time clerks. It received little help from a stingy

Arlo Smith

Legislature, which denied the office even the most rudimentary expenses — like travel and postage. And the office's enabling legislation gave it an ill-defined and narrow set of responsibilities.

Now, 141 years later, the office has six major divisions and a $288-million budget. Its realm of responsibility has expanded greatly through common and statutory law, as well as the initiative of the men who have led it. It now wields tremendous and wide-ranging authority over California's legal affairs. The office now represents the state in criminal appeals and civil actions, serves as legal protector of the environment and consumers, enforces civil rights and antitrust laws, and supervises and coordinates statewide law-enforcement efforts.

Much of the office's expansion has occurred over the past three decades. During that period, the attorney general's role has grown far beyond what the public views as the office's sole duty: criminal law enforcement. Both Republicans and Democrats have helped turn the attorney general into an environmental protector, civil-rights activist, consumer advocate and trust-buster.

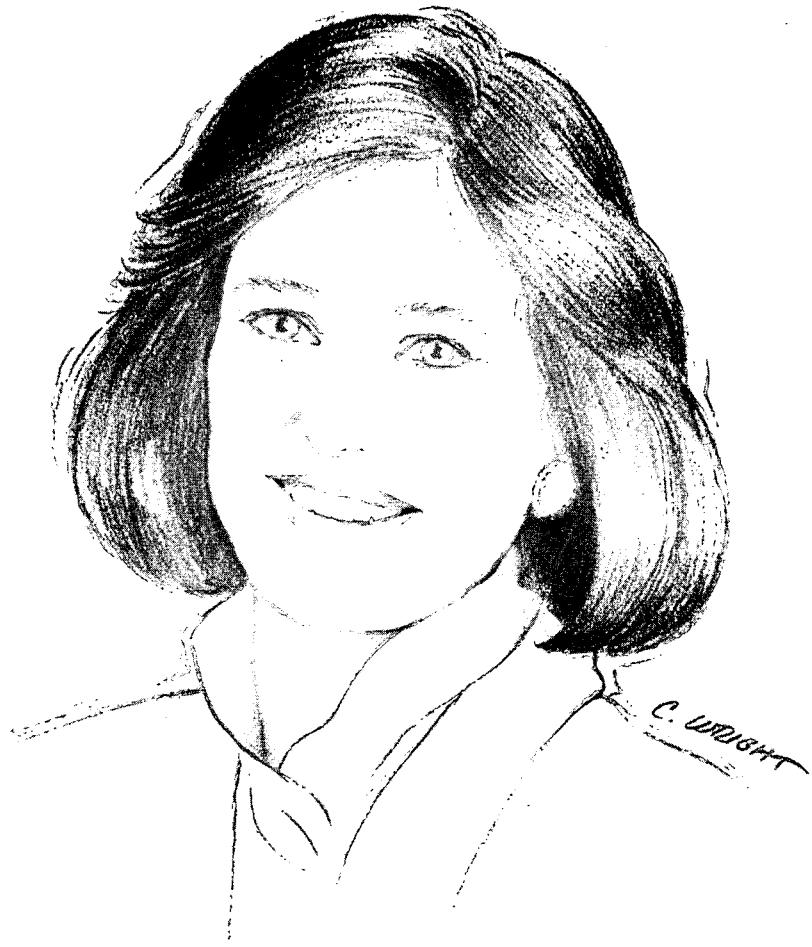
Van de Kamp continued the 30-year tradition of expansion and activism. Earlier this year, he earned a landmark ruling from the U.S. Supreme Court that allowed states to use federal law to break up completed, anti-competitive mergers. He won another ruling from the high Court that barred the Rotary Club from excluding women. And he convinced a federal ap-

Advertisement

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ANOTHER BROWN
ON THE HORIZON

Kathleen Brown wins the treasurer's race



By James Richardson

Brown (D)	**3,551,263**	**(49%)**
Hayes (R*)	3,320,053	(46%)
Meeuwenberg (L)	216,405	(4%)
Nakano (P&F)	197,351	(3%)

On election eve, Republican state Treasurer Thomas Hayes sent a memo to his state staff. If we won, Hayes wrote, it was they who deserved the credit for making him look good. 'If I lose," he added, "I just wasn't political enough, and that's okay."

In the end, Hayes proved not political enough, and he was the only statewide incumbent to lose in 1990.

He was up against a Democratic opponent who entered the race as an instant political star, a member of a family that is the closest thing California has to a political dynasty.

Kathleen Brown did everything right.

Brown, 45, the sister of former Governor Jerry Brown and the daughter of former Governor Pat Brown, raised more money and clocked more miles campaigning than Hayes. She defined the issues and defined her opponent. She glistened when he was stuffy and snarly.

Pat Brown was repeatedly quoted throughout the campaign as saying he wanted to set a new record — being the father of not just one, but two governors.

He may get that chance.

Kathleen Brown consistently sidestepped questions about whether she wants to run for governor. "I have such a close race for treasurer that to think beyond November 6th is just incredibly presumptuous of me," she said.

On the day following her victory, Brown reflected on her family's political history. "I don't intend on running away from the Brown family tradition of good and honest government in California," she said. "I have set out on my own path. I have set out to establish my own legacy."

In an interview a few days after her victory, she said she wants to set up a "user friendly treasurer's office" by "developing a strategy for staying in touch with the constituents." To many in the state Capitol, that was the talk of a future candidate for governor.

Continued on next page

James Richardson is a Capitol correspondent for The Sacramento Bee.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nonetheless, she labored hard in her campaign to avoid the tag of an overambitious Brown — like brother Jerry — and establish her own solid credentials. Without saying so directly, she worked to shed the flakey image that has dogged her brother's career. She dubbed herself a "different shade of Brown."

"I have three marvelous assets," she often deadpanned, listing them as her gender, her political party and her family. "The liability side of my balance sheet includes the fact that I am a woman running for treasurer, I am a Democrat and I am a Brown."

The Brown legacy she liked to talk about was that of her father: building universities, highways and water systems. And that fit right in with her campaign theme of selling more bonds to build more things.

Hayes had never before run for public office, but by a quirk of political fate was the incumbent. He was appointed treasurer in 1989 by Governor George Deukmejian to fill the unexpired term of the late Jesse Unruh. Hayes had not even registered as a Republican until plucked from relative obscurity as the Legislature's auditor general.

As treasurer, Hayes disdained campaigning, generally confining himself to friendly audiences in financial and Republican circles. He tried to keep to a single message: He was the state's chief banker. "We have 120 legislators and a governor who can be politicians," said Hayes. "They argue about the political questions of the day; that's their job. We can afford one person in California to worry about the money."

But it was a message that made him look vascillating.

Hayes weathered a rough-and-tumble GOP primary against Angela Bay Buchanan, who relentlessly branded him as a tool of Wall Street because he had taken roughly 20 percent of his donations from investment firms and banks.

Meanwhile, Brown built a sizable campaign warchest. She relentlessly attacked Hayes, all but ignoring Buchanan and her own primary opponent, Wesley Sanders — a municipal treasurer in Southern California.

Brown ran publicly as a political outsider, but proved an able insider politician. Democratic Assemblyman Phillip Isenberg of Sacramento, a top lieutenant of Democratic Speaker Willie Brown, said Kathleen Brown called him not once but three times asking for a campaign contribution. He said she was appropriately sheepish when asking for money, but persistent until she got a check. "She's good, *real* good," said Isenberg.

For his part, Hayes did well raising campaign money among stock brokers, bankers and bond attorneys, but he did not branch out much beyond such circles. Two weeks before the election, Deukmejian infused the Hayes campaign with $100,000 of left over campaign money, but it was far too little, too late. Just in the closing week of the campaign, Brown raised $270,000 to Hayes' $146,000.

If there was a critical, defining moment in the campaign, it came in Los Angeles in October when the two met for their only televised debate.

Hayes was primed by his advisers with a potentially embarassing question for Brown. He would demand Brown disclose her family holdings in Indonesian oil stock, transactions that were, at best, an awkward subject for her. Pat Brown had acquired the controversial stock years ago by representing the dictatorial Indonesian government-controlled company. He had given some of it to Kathleen and to his grandchildren. Jerry Brown had turned down his father's gift, sensing the political albatross it could represent.

Tom Hayes

But Katheleen had taken her father's gift and, she said, liquidated it some time later.

Before the debate, the Hayes campaign slipped background material on the subject to reporters. All was ready for Hayes to steal the debate.

But Hayes never asked the question.

Instead, Brown caught Hayes in a trap. Near the end of the debate, she accused Hayes of allowing his chief deputy, B.T. Collins, to do political work while still on the state payroll. The evidence: about $100 worth of telephone calls Collins had placed on state phones to Hayes' New York political consultant. As soon as the debate concluded, reporters and television cameras swarmed around Collins demanding an explanation. Finally, an exasperated Hayes stepped into the fray — blustering "I am in charge" — to explain that Collins had called him while Hayes was in New York talking with his political consultant, Roger Ailes. Further, Collins had reimbursed the state for the calls. But the damage was done.

The Hayes camp viewed Brown's charge a cheap shot, but Los Angeles television stations and major newspapers played it up the next day — and that became the story of the debate. The substance of the debate was all but ignored.

Cheap shot or not, Brown's accusation made Hayes *look* political, blowing away the image he had so painfully cultivated as "Tom, the number-crunching bureaucrat."

Ironically, Collins had been Jerry Brown's chief of staff while he was governor.

Throughout the campaign, Brown successfully defined the issues. She said the state under Hayes and Deukmejian had dragged its heals in selling about $12 billion in voter-approved bonds for building new highways, sewage plants and schools.

To sell all the bonds at once, Hayes repeatedly said, would cost the state billions of dollars in unnecessary interest charges. "She is willing to jeopardize the financial stability of the state in a manner that voters never envisioned when they passed bonds," Hayes said of Brown.

Brown never said she would sell all of the bonds all at once. But whatever the merits of their positions, Hayes had allowed Brown to define the biggest issue of the campaign. At the heart of the issue was Brown's vision of the treasurer's office. She saw herself playing a role as treasurer in the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

building of new universities, highways and water projects using bond financing — just like her father had done as governor.

Hayes' protestations that he was a money manager, that he had nothing to do with deciding which bonds were sold when, only made him look wishy-washy.

Hayes looked even more vascillating when he warned that voters should not approve more than $10 billion in new bond issues for the year, but he refused to say which bonds should be approved or defeated. He said that would be too overtly political for him to say, but then took the overtly political step of coming out against Proposition 128 — "Big Green" — which contained a proposed $300 million general-obligation bond.

Brown endorsed three of the proposed bonds on the November ballot, but took no position on the rest. Nonetheless, she did not paint herself into a corner like Hayes had done because she maintained that the state could probably afford a higher bonded indebtedness.

Going into the final month of the election, polls showed the two candidates in a statistical dead heat. The final stretch of the campaign was thus dominated by increasingly shrill television ads from both candidates that had little to do with the issues they had previously discussed.

Hayes' commercial attacked Brown as flakey for quitting her jobs as a member of the Los Angeles Board of Education, then as a lawyer and then as Los Angeles Public Works commissioner. His ad implied she quit when the going got tough, ignoring that she quit the school board after five years to follow her new husband to New York (a dilemma for working couples that Hayes appeared to show no sensitivity toward). She quit her law firm to be a public-works commissioner and quit the commissioner's job to run for treasurer.

Brown responded with an ad that drastically distorted Hayes's short tenure as treasurer. The ad said that on his "watch" the state had lost $84 million in junk-bond investments — ignoring that the investments were made before he became treasurer and that he had opposed any further junk-bond investments when he took office. The ad also derided Hayes for error-prone budget projections. But on that point the Brown ad was inaccurate because it took two unrelated budget projections and added them together.

After the election, Brown said her ads broke the deadlock. The fact she had more money to put hers on the air than Hayes had to put his on the air was critical. "TV is what ultimately gave me the lift," she said. "It was the message I communicated on TV that distinguished me from my opponent."

She defeated Hayes, 49 percent to 45 percent.

Her first order of business as treasurer, she said, will be legislation setting up her proposed "bond efficiency commission" a vaguely defined campaign promise to establish a commission to help governor, Legislature and treasurer systematically attack the state's backlog of unsold bonds.

Brown saw no rejection of her vision by the voter disapproval of all but two of the proposed bonds on the November ballot. "In pointing out there is a backlog of $12 billion in unsold bonds, it really focused the publics' attention on the need for a commission to set priorities for the selling of bonds. It's really time to clean house and get things in order before we go back to the voters in two years and ask for approval of bonds for projects California really needs.

"I saw the message as: Elected officials — get about the business of governing."

Advertisement

California Journal SEMINARS

- *Legislative process*
- *State budget process*
- *Rules and Regulations ...*
  (Many new laws get converted into regulations. Learn how that process works — and how to work the process.)
- *Bill tracking and analysis*
- *Committee procedure and the art of testifying*
- *Advocacy* — adjusting strategies for '91
- *State Agencies* — organization, structure and process
- *Bill analysis workshop*
  (an intense, 1/2 day program for busy professionals)
- *Media relations and the legislative process*
- *Between committee and floor* — how to preserve hard-won success in committee

SCHEDULE

Dec. 5	**Advocacy**	Sacramento
Dec. 6	**Committee Procedure**	Sacramento
Dec. 7	**Bill Analysis Workshop**	Sacramento
Dec. 14	**Legislative Process, Bill Tracking and Analysis**	**Los Angeles**
Jan. 4	**Demystifying the Legislative Process**	Sacramento
Jan. 10	**California's Executive Branch ... Organization Processes, Communications**	Sacramento
Jan. 11	**Bill Tracking and Analysis**	Sacramento
Jan. 16	**All About the State Budget Process**	Sacramento
Jan. 17	**Rules and Regulations**	Sacramento
Jan. 25	**Congressional Procedure**	Sacramento
Feb. 21	**Media Relations and the Legislative Process**	Sacramento
Feb. 22	**Between Committee and Floor**	Sacramento

For SCHEDULE INFORMATION or to be placed on our mailing list, please contact **ROD TUTTLE** at **916/444-2840.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Constitutional Offices and Ballot Propositions

Election 1990

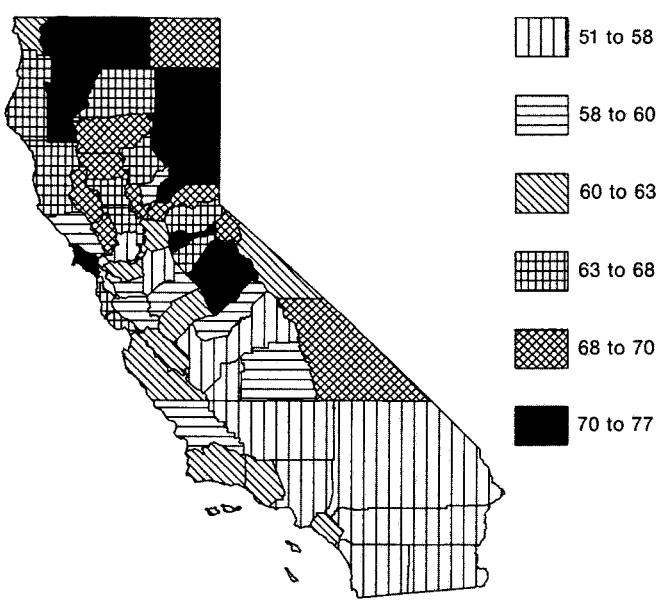
Lt. Governor

McCarthy

McCarthy (D*)	**3,845,122**	**(51%)**
Bergeson (R)	3,161,417	(42%)
Short (AI)	134,877	(2%)
Bajada (L)	212,317	(3%)
Kuhn (P&F)	141,896	(2%)

Voter Turnout by County

(percentage of those registered who voted)



STATEWIDE TURNOUT = 58.7%

Leo McCarthy is in a holding pattern. A three-term holding pattern with what appears to be an unlimited supply of fuel but no significant place to land. Not that he's content to circle above the fray; he's forever searching for some other runway. The holding pattern, of course, is the lieutenant governorship.

McCarthy, a 60-year-old Democrat, altered his political course back in 1982. After serving 14 years in the state Assembly, including several terms as speaker, McCarthy sought another job. He wanted to be governor, or a U.S. senator. But two better-known Democrats staked out those contests: Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley for governor and then-Governor Jerry Brown for the Senate. McCarthy was left to search for something else. Thus, he ran for lieutenant governor, defeating GOP Assemblywoman Carol Hallett. And, he bided his time. Four years later, when Bradley again ran for governor, McCarthy won reelection against Republican Mike Curb.

The next time a significant statewide election appeared on the horizon, McCarthy darted for it. In 1988 he ran a dogged, bitter, but largely unnoticed campaign for the U.S. Senate against incumbent Republican Pete Wilson, who had defeated Jerry Brown in 1982. Wilson won a convincing reelection, and McCarthy returned to his holding pattern. During the campaign, however, McCarthy and Wilson came to genuinely dislike each other, an animosity that gained significance recently.

Well, 1990 rolled around, and McCarthy toyed with the notion of running for governor. But the atmosphere was too uncertain, the skies filled with too many potential Democratic juggernauts. Dianne Feinstein, for one. John Van de Kamp, for another. Gray Davis, for yet another. So McCarthy returned once again to what has now become his familiar niche, his personal holding pattern — running for a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

record third term as lieutenant governor.

His opponent was Republican state Senator Marian Bergeson, who had defeated fellow Orange County colleague John Seymour in the primary. Bergeson was hampered from the outset by almost zero name recognition and by an electorate diverted to marquee races for governor, attorney general and treasurer, and by the blood battles over various ballot propositions. She tried to flesh out McCarthy's ambition as a campaign theme, but her barbs were deflected by his insistent harping on her anti-abortion posture. That cost her support among women. Both sides traded accusations that the other's advertising was pockmarked with lies. Throughout the campaign, McCarthy clung to a consistent lead in the polls, although few voters, it seemed, were listening. As late as November 3rd, a full 20 percent of them were still undecided, according to *The California Poll*.

In the end, the incumbent won by a comfortable 9 percent. His biggest margin of victory — 130,000 votes — came from his native San Francisco, which gave him 77 percent of its tally. As expected, Los Angeles County also gave McCarthy a huge boost in votes. Bergeson's native Orange County supplied her with a 150,000-vote plurality, or 60 percent.

McCarthy has now been elected for a third time beside a chief executive from the other party. For the past eight years, McCarthy and George Deukmejian settled into a grudging tolerance for each other. But McCarthy and Wilson do not like each other, a situation that will tax both of their capacities for statesmanship. Will McCarthy be content? Hardly. After the campaign, he refused to rule out the possibility that he will seek one of two U.S. Senate seats available in 1992.

Eu (D*)	**3,832,621**	**(52%)**
Flores (R)	3,010,734	(41%)
Nicholoff (AI)	211,233	(3%)
Watson (L)	219,647	(3%)
Alarcon (P&F)	143,042	(2%)

Flores, was well-financed and, in a significant departure from past Eu opponents, did not enter the race with the attitude of a sure-fire loser.

For the first time in years, Eu was subjected to a rough-and-tumble campaign, spiced with charges that the 68-year-old San Franciscan had routinely waived fines against political candidates and various special-interest groups charged with violating various campaign laws. Among those whose fines were reduced were Charles Keating's now-defunct but politically poisonous Lincoln Savings and Loan and Eu's own campaign committees. Eu countered late in the campaign that Flores' campaign had also been fined, thus reducing much of the sting in Flores' charges. Flores also attacked Eu as a "do-nothing" secretary somehow responsible for lackluster voter turnout.

Flores was able to cut into Eu's once-overwhelming lead; there was a 16-point swing in the challenger's favor in the month of October alone. But she lacked enough money to fashion a relentless, last-minute television campaign and ultimately fell some 800,000 votes short.

Eu has flirted in the past with running for other jobs, most recently for the U.S. Senate in 1988. But her age and the vast number of ambitious politicians rising around her, mean she returns for the fifth time to the job that will probably serve as the final resting place for her political career.

Secretary of State

The campaign for secretary of state was punctuated with some of the year's cleverest slogans. Like, "Where was Eu?" And "Better me than Eu." Clever sloganeering is usually a challenger's consolation prize when running against four-term incumbent March Fong Eu. In the past she has

March Fong Eu

emerged as the top vote-getter among statewide candidates and her previous GOP opponents have borne the unofficial sobriquet "sacrificial lamb."

But 1990 proved different. Although Eu's margin of victory was still a respectable 12 percent, her 52 percent of the vote was nowhere near her two previous reelections (61 and 69 percent). And she was eclipsed as the top vote-getter by incumbent Democratic Controller Gray Davis, who ironically ran against Eu's son — Matt Fong. Her Republican opponent, Los Angeles City Councilwoman Joan Milke

Controller

Gray Davis

Davis (D*)	**4,120,596**	**(56%)**
Fong (R)	2,679,004	(37%)
Kaiser (AI)	125,050	(2%)
Tryon (L)	270,819	(4%)
Rose (P&F)	146,065	(2%)

Gray Davis flexed his little pinkie and disposed of Republican Matt Fong to win his first reelection as state controller. His margin of victory was nearly 1.5 million votes, or 20 percent. Fong defeated Davis in only one county, Orange, while losing in the other 57.

The race was a race at all only because Fong is the son of Secretary of State March Fong Eu. In fact, Fong had served as his mother's campaign manager for her 1986

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reelection and only switched to the Republican Party two years ago. That alone guaranteed him "novelty press." But except for the connection with his mother, Fong was virtually unknown, had never held public office and had no working experience for the job. He is a Los Angeles attorney specializing in Pacific Rim trade. He had little money, which meant Davis had to use little of his nuclear-sized warchest to defend himself.

Davis, like other Democratic officeholders, has ambitions beyond his current job. But he also seems cautious and to date has not shown a willingness to brawl when other, less hazardous avenues are open to him. For example, he toyed with the idea of running for governor this year but opted for reelection as controller when the Feinstein, Van de Kamp and Wilson candidacies began to coalesce. If he wants to move up, however, he'll have to mix it up. And with two U.S. Senate seats on line for 1992, Gray Davis finally may test his vote-getting prowess in a political cat fight.

Insurance Commissioner

The office of an elected insurance commissioner was created back in November 1988 when voters narrowly approved Proposition 103 — the so-called insurance-reform initiative sponsored by Harvey Rosenfeld and backed by consumer guru Ralph Nader. Until this election, the insurance commissioner was appointed by the governor. To

John Garamendi

date, not much reform has taken place under Proposition 103, and the election of an insurance czar was just about the only aspect of it to be implemented on schedule. Much of the rest is tied up in litigation or the subject of conflicting interpretations by the current, appointed commissioner — Roxani Gillespie.

The history of Proposition 103 is convoluted and confusing. Moreover, because the issue of auto-insurance reform is volatile with the public and is complicated by secrecy and by the presence of competing special interests, many observers wondered why any ambitious, aspiring politician would want to throw him or herself into so potentially hazardous a job.

Enter John Garamendi. Like many Democrats, the former state senator has hungered after higher office. In the past he has run for governor (smooshed in a 1982 primary) and controller (smooshed in a 1986 primary), his campaigns constantly hampered by the fact that he hails from the Sierra foothills — not one of the state's major population centers. The office of insurance commissioner promised an easier leg up to a larger stage — even if the stage itself was littered with trouble. With most of the party's bigger guns seeking bigger offices, Garamendi saw his chance.

His opponent, Republican Wes Bannister, is a Huntington Beach councilman. He is also an independent insurance agent. From the start, Bannister was hurt by lack of money, lack of name recognition and his ties to the industry. That he promised to put his insurance agency into a blind trust did little to overcome voter suspicion that he would be a tool of insurers. But Bannister had one major

Garamendi (D)	**3,738,525**	**(52%)**
Bannister (R)	2,707,384	(38%)
T.Brown (L)	433,421	(6%)
T.Condit (P&F)	278,633	(4%)

advantage: He knew insurance. As the *Los Angeles Times* indicated when it endorsed him, Bannister's "knowledge of the industry, and his ability to critically evaluate its weaknesses, is impressive."

For his part, Garamendi was hurt by attempts to manipulate his resignation from the Senate to aid his wife's campaign to succeed him, and by revelations that he had taken campaign contributions from wives of insurance executives — while claiming loudly, often and with great sincerity that he had eschewed all contributions from insurance execs themselves. Garamendi, however, suffered little from these blots on his integrity since Bannister was woefully short of money. The Democrat led in polls from start to finish, although 35 percent of voters were still undecided at the end of October. In the end, Garamendi carried nearly every region of the state except south-of-Los-Angeles.

Well, John Garamendi finally has his statewide platform. It isn't an ideal platform. And it might prove to be an impossible job, one where the incumbent can't go slow and can't act rashly and can't ultimately satisfy anyone. To survive and prosper, then, he must make sure he does not step in something gooey or disappear through any number of trap doors.

Board of Equalization

William Bennett

Paul Carpenter

Ernie Dronenburg Jr.

Paul Carpenter's percent of the vote fell 10 percent from 1986, the year the 62-year-old former state senator was first elected to the Board of Equalization from District 4. Of course, Carpenter had picked up a few negatives during the past four years. Typical baggage, like trying to force-feed an old crony down the board's throat as its executive director; or, not being responsive enough to constituents. Usual stuff.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Oh, yeah, there was one other negative, one that dropped on his skull six weeks before the election. Something about a mid-September conviction in federal court in Sacramento for extortion, racketeering and conspiracy. Carpenter was suspended from the board following his conviction and, when sentenced in December, will be removed permanently. Carpenter was the second Democratic lawmaker to be convicted in the FBI's "shrimpscam" sting; former Senator Joe Montoya was the first. The charges themselves grew out of an FBI investigation into legislative corruption that took place when Carpenter was a senator and had nothing to do with his tenure on the board.

Maybe that's why Carpenter's constituents returned him to office. Yeah, sure, that's it. They must have thought that being a legislative crook didn't mean one was a crook crook. Sure. That must be why over half-a-million Los Angeles voters decided that although they couldn't return him to office, at least they could return him to the list of those suspended from office.

Ironically, his opponent, long-time Board of Equalization auditor Joe Adams, could end up on the board anyway. Adams ran a low-key race (translation: no money) but still garnered 44 percent of the vote. And once Carpenter is sentenced, and his seat becomes vacant, Adams could be named by Governor George Deukmejian as Carpenter's successor. Or, Deukmejian could lateral the appointment to Pete Wilson who takes office in January. Either way, the predominantly Democratic seat probably will be held by a Republican until 1994. By then, Carpenter should be out on parole and . . who knows?

District 1 (53% D - 35% R)		
Bennett (D*)	**1,058,047**	**(52%)**
Wallack (R)	821,321	(40%)
Iddings (L)	176,948	(9%)
District 2 (51% D - 37% R)		
Sherman (D)	**892,321**	**(51%)**
Parrish (R)	676,136	(39%)
Kudrowzeff (AI)	40,241	(2%)
Sapowsky-Smith (L)	60,187	(4%)
Lawrence (P&F)	74,833	(4%)
District 3 (39% D - 50% R)		
Morrow (D)	737,903	(40%)
Dronenburg (R*)	**941,004**	**(50%)**
Currie (L)	114,743	(6%)
Weber (P&F)	75,791	(4%)
District 4 (57% D - 33% R)		
Carpenter (D*)	**559,867**	**(48%)**
Adams (R)	522,216	(45%)
Honigsfeld (P&F)	88,181	(8%)

In District 1, five-term incumbent Bill Bennett won reelection over Republican Jeff Wallack, a 32-year-old small businessman who pushed Bennett aggressively. As a result, the incumbent's reputation for integrity took a huge hit during an unusually rough-and-tumble campaign. The 72-year-old Bennett has built his reputation over the past 20 years by scrupulously refusing to accept any campaign contributions. But his opponent attacked from a different direction, accusing Bennett of poor attendance at board meetings and of padding his expense accounts. Bennett, in fact, was forced to file an amended expense claim, thus admitting to overcharging the state nearly $2500 for meals, tolls, per diem and parking during parts of 1988 and 1989. Ultimately, District 1 voters decided that Bennett's troubles amounted to carelessness not corruption, and they returned him to office with a comfortable 250,000-vote margin.

District 2 elected a new board member — a 36-year-old Democratic tax attorney from Granada Hills named Brad Sherman. Sherman replaces Democrat Conway Collis, who ran unsuccessfully for insurance commissioner in the June primary. Sherman handily defeated small businessman Claude Parrish in a district that stretches from San Francisco to Santa Monica.

In District 3, Republican Ernie Dronenburg Jr. was reelected to a fourth term on the board. He knocked off Democrat Floyd Morrow, a former San Diego city councilman. Dronenburg, from El Cajon, is the only Republican on the board — that is, until someone is appointed to replace Carpenter.

Local Elections

Several local elections of note took place on November 6th, as well. For instance, San Jose and Oakland elected new mayors. In San Jose, Councilwoman Susan Hammer eked out a 1263-vote victory over former Superintendent of Schools Frank Fiscalini in the race to succeed Mayor Tom McEnery. Hammer's victory wasn't assured until more than 5000 absentee ballots had been tabulated some three days after the election. Hammer ended up with 88,607 votes, or 50.4 percent. The campaign itself turned nasty as election day neared, with Hammer ads accusing her opponent of incompetence. Fiscalini's supporters, including Congressman Norm Mineta (a former mayor), countered that the slashing ad campaign was a "classic ... cheap shot." Fiscalini then ran his own ads, accusing Hammer of lying. As vote totals indicate, the race itself was extremely close to the end, with as many as 30 percent of the electorate undecided as late as a week before the election.

Oakland voters also elected a new mayor — former Assemblyman Elihu Harris, who defeated Councilman Wilson Riles Jr. by a comfortable margin. Harris and Riles had been the top two vote-getters in a June primary. The new mayor, a 12-year veteran of the state Legislature, succeeds Lionel Wilson who ran a dismal third in June. Wilson had been mayor for 13 years. Harris' campaign, bolstered by an $800,000 warchest, focused on problems with the Oakland school system and faltering city services. Riles, who was endorsed by Wilson, raised $270,000 and tried to distance himself from the incumbent mayor. He attacked the size and nature of Harris' fund-raising base, accusing his challenger of gaining most of his support from outside Oakland. He also pointed to a cushy contract with the State Bar awarded to Harris' wife, attorney Kathy Neal, and to a $90,852-a-year appointment Neal received to the Integrated Waste Management Board. The appointment was made by a Harris ally — Assembly Speaker Willie Brown Jr.

In the end, Oakland voters opted for change and saw Harris as the agent. Perhaps more than the mayoral race, Oakland's desire for change was marked by the ouster of veteran Councilman Carter Gilmore, defeated by computer specialist Nate Miley in his first quest for public office.

Elsewhere around the state, gays made substantial political progress in San Francisco with the election of Carole

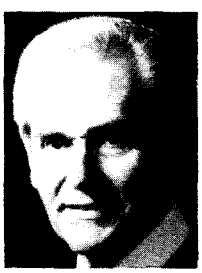
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Midgen and Roberta Achtenberg to the Board of Supervisors, and Tom Ammiano to the Board of Education. San Franciscans also approved a ballot measure that will allow gays and lesbians to register their domestic partnerships at city hall. San Franciscans also bolstered the city's no-growth movement by rejecting a pair of developer-sponsored ballot measures. Both measures were backed by Mayor Art Agnos.

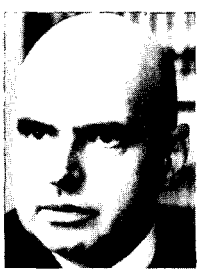
Meanwhile, San Francisco's neighbors in Santa Clara County defeated a measure that would have financed a ballpark for the San Francisco Giants, who have vowed to move out of their current home in Candlestick Park when their lease expires following the 1994 season. San Francisco also rejected a ballpark measure two years ago. Thus, for the time being, the Giants remain California's wealthiest and most-visible gaggle of homeless.

Finally, Sacramento County voters rejected a proposal that would have merged the city and county into one political entity. Had it passed, Sacramento would have instantly become the state's third largest city — and seventh largest in the country. And in perhaps the election's most stunning victory, Orange County voters passed a half-cent sales tax increase to fund a variety of transportation projects around the county.

Supreme Court



Malcolm Lucas



Armand Arabian

Malcolm Lucas, chief justice		
For	**2,505,115**	**(69%)**
Against	1,549,860	(31%)
Armand Arabian, associate justice		
For	**2,681,162**	**(56%)**
Against	2,123,999	(44%)
Marvin Baxter, associate justice		
For	**3,159,135**	**(66%)**
Against	1,622,345	(34%)
Joyce Kennard, associate justice		
For	**3,348,933**	**(68%)**
Against	1,544,118	(32%)
Edward Panelli, associate justice		
For	**3,195,997**	**(66%)**
Against	1,636,328	(34%)

The confirmation vote on five George Deukmejian-appointed Supreme Court justices was a quiet affair, with just one note of interest. Associate Justice Armand Arabian's approval vote was substantially below that of his four colleagues. Arabian actually was voted down in 17 predominantly rural counties. Most observers credited Arabian's "foreign-sounding name" with his poor showing at the polls, given that the election came at the height of U.S. military activity in the Middle East and a growing anti-Arab sentiment among the population. Arabian is of Armenian descent, however. The other justices coasted to victory, in contrast with the most recent Supreme Court confirmation (1986) which saw three judges thrown off the court, including Chief Justice Rose Bird.

Term Limits

Once upon a time, there was a place called "Willie and David's neighborhood." It existed inside a big, white building with a large dome on top. The weather inside was comfortable. The residents all were happy and smiling. They raised money and held pow-wows and raised money and patted each other on the back and raised money and drove fancy cars and raised money and took trips to exotic lands and raised still more money. Every now and then, they passed an important law. But passing important laws upset harmony in the neighborhood, so they did not do much of it. Willie and David's neighborhood was so very pleasant that other people wanted to move in. But the residents used the money they had raised to build barricades.

Then, one day, a huge tornado appeared on the horizon. This tornado even had a name: "Schabarum."

Can you say, "term limits?"

Can you say, "out on your keester?"

The tornado rearranged Willie and David's neighborhood.

The tornado, of course, had another name — Proposition 140, approved by voters on November 6th. A devilishly simple constitutional amendment, Proposition 140 limits members of the Assembly to three terms, or six years; members of the state Senate and most constitutional officers to two terms, or eight years. (The newly elected insurance commissioner is exempt.) Once having served the limit in any office, elected officials are banned for life; they never again may hold the same job. The measure also cuts the Legislature's operating budget by 38 percent and ends lawmakers' participation in the state retirement system. It was sponsored by Los Angeles County Supervisor Pete Schabarum, a Republican and himself a former member of the state Assembly.

Proposition 140 was not the only threat to Willie and David's neighborhood on the November ballot. Proposition 131, sponsored by outgoing Attorney General John Van de Kamp, also sought to etch term limits into the state constitution. Less draconian than its cousin, Proposition 131 limited lawmakers to 12 consecutive years (six terms in the Assembly, three in the Senate). Constitutional officers were limited to two consecutive, four-year terms. Proposition 131 did not contain a lifetime ban, did not seek to slash the Legislature's budget, nor force legislators out of the state retirement system. It did, however, limit campaign contributions and spending by establishing a system of public campaign finance. Finally, Proposition 131 created a special prosecutor to handle politically connected crimes committed by officeholders.

The impetus for term limits had been brewing for some time, fueled in part by public notions that representative democracy had gone awry, that it had been captured by wealthy and powerful special interests who held sway over the political will of elected officeholders, and that these

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

officeholders could not be defeated individually.

Unfortunately for incumbents, this notion was reinforced by political gridlock and scandals that seemed to grip all levels of government throughout 1989 and 1990. Government, and those who served in government, seemed incapable of dealing with the myriad of problems besieging society. In California, the Legislature wrestled with paralysis as the 1989-90 session ground to a close. Legislative leaders, especially in the Assembly, had difficulty fashioning the two-thirds majority necessary to enact a budget (finally

Proposition 131 — Term limits, Van de Kamp		
Yes	2,731,396	(38%)
No	**4,426,610**	**(62%)**
Proposition 137 — Initiative and referendum		
Yes	3,133,384	(45%)
No	**3,830,592**	**(55%)**
Proposition 140 — Term limits, Schabarum		
Yes	**3,713,971**	**(52%)**
No	3,407,497	(48%)

coughing one out nearly a month late) or a package of bond measures for the November ballot (accomplished on the last day of the session, forcing the secretary of state to spend millions of dollars on a supplemental ballot booklet).

In Washington, the Congress had its own budget problems, spiced with months of bitter public bickering and dozens of shattered compromises that threatened to bring the entire federal government sputtering to a halt. Congress finally produced a roundly criticized budget on October 27th — barely 10 days before the general election.

And then there were the scandals. The most-festering one of all centered on the collapse of the nation's savings-and-loan industry and promised to cost taxpayers more than $500 billion. Many incumbent politicians were caught in the backwash, including a number of House members, five U.S. senators (California's Alan Cranston among them) and several high-ranking officials of the Reagan administration. There were lesser scandals involving defense contractors and the bilking of federal housing programs by unscrupulous developers, consultants and government officials.

California had its own very public scandal — the FBI's "shrimpscam" sting operation. Several members of the Legislature were under investigation. One — Democratic state Senator Joe Montoya of Whittier — was actually convicted of political corruption and removed from office early in 1990. Another — former Senator Paul Carpenter, a member of the state Board of Equalization — was convicted on similar charges less than a month before the November election. Still others operated under the cloud of a continuing investigation.

Lesser scandals plagued incumbents in California and across the country. A San Diego congressman was reprimanded by the House Ethics Committee for sexually harrassing female members of his staff. The mayor of Washington D.C., sniffed cocaine in a sordid film clip taken by undercover police officers.

The damage to government prestige and public confidence began to manifest in polls; in mid-September, a quarter of Californians polled thought their Legislature was doing a bad job. Another 47 percent only rated its performance as fair.

As the tornado of public disfavor gathered momentum, it found a touch-point in an effort to limit the amount of time any one politician could spend in any one office.

Attorney General Van de Kamp was the first to propose a term-limit measure for California when he made the concept part of an ethics package that served as the cornerstone of his failed campaign for governor. Declaring that it was time to "drain the swamp in Sacramento," Van de Kamp launched a signature drive in January for what became Proposition 131. Schabarum came along a month later with his proposal. Both qualified for the ballot in July.

Polls immediately showed widespread support for the idea of term limits. A mid-September *California Poll* showed that more than 60 percent of voters agreed with each proposition. By mid-October Proposition 140's approval rate had remained a constant 69 percent, even as more and more people heard of and understood it. Proposition 131's approval rate, however, fell to 52 percent once voters became aware of its public-finance provision. Another thunderbolt arrived from out of state in late September when Oklahomans approved a term-limit measure for its lawmakers by a margin of two-to-one. And, in a fit of bad timing, the chief justice of the Washington state Supreme Court was defeated for reelection by a novice politician who did not campaign and had no experience for the job.

For the denizens of Willie and David's neighborhood, the signs were less than encouraging. In this atmosphere, the campaign to defeat Propositions 131 and 140 took shape.

The campaign itself was financed, naturally enough, by those with the most to lose — the Legislature itself, with leaders from both parties serving as point men. Assembly Speaker Willie Brown Jr., Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti and Senate Minority Leader Ken Maddy organized the "no" effort, with Assembly GOP leader Ross Johnson playing a less-visible and, it has been reported, less-enthusiastic role. (Some members of Johnson's caucus even endorsed the more-draconian Proposition 140). The campaign was managed by Michael Berman and Carl D'Agostino, veteran Los Angeles consultants who had engineered the defeat of two critical reapportionment initiatives on the June 1990 ballot.

From the beginning, term-limit opponents did not differentiate between the two initiatives. They went after both, although Proposition 140's very simplicity offered precious few opportunities for attack. Thus, opponents focused on 131, using its public-finance provisions to obscure differences between the two measures. Their ads argued against public finance, then asked for a "no" vote on both propositions — as though public finance was also part of the Schabarum proposal. In one of their more controversial efforts, opponents claimed that public money would be doled out to extremist groups like the Ku Klux Klan should any term limits be approved.

Opponents had plenty of cash with which to promote their doom-and-gloom. By making term limits a life-or-death campaign, Brown and Roberti were able to put the squeeze on those who regularly fueled their legislative campaigns — namely, the same wealthy special interests that their ads claimed would take over the Legislature should incumbents be limited to six- or eight-year terms. The squeeze led to the accumulation of what some estimate was a $6 million warchest. Opponents also rallied Capitol staffers with not-so-subtle "requests" to contribute time and money to the cause, reminding them that their jobs, too, were on the line thanks to Proposition 140's slashing of the legislative budget.

Pro-term-limit forces had far fewer resources and had to rely mostly on free media to promote their message. Proposition 131 supporters had raised only a little more than

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

$300,000 with less than two weeks left before the election, and most of that money had been spent to qualify the initiative. Proponents estimated that no more than $150,000 would be spent to pass it. Proposition 140 proponents had $1.2 million, most of it from Schabarum who was retiring as a Los Angeles County supervisor.

Pro-initiative forces were aided in their efforts, however, by some high-powered endorsements. Proposition 140, especially, gained a ration of free publicity when Republican gubernatorial candidate Pete Wilson endorsed it during his televised debate with Democrat Dianne Feinstein on October 7th. Three weeks later, President George Bush, who spent 11 days stumping in California for Wilson, also waded in on behalf of Proposition 140. Consumer guru Ralph Nader endorsed Proposition 131 at the eleventh hour, joining California Common Cause, NOW, the Sierra Club, and mayors Tom McEnery of San Jose and Maureen O'Connor of San Diego.

The anti-limit campaign was conducted mostly over the airwaves. Several of the ads were highly controversial, including one that accused Schabarum of causing Los Angeles' smog and gridlock and another featuring actress Angela Landsbury that failed to disclose that Brown and Roberti had paid for it.

Ultimately, the public-finance aspect proved fatal to Proposition 131. A final *California Poll* released only days before the election showed the measure in trouble, as approval ratings plummeted from 66 percent to 54 percent in October alone, and to 45 percent when the impact of campaign-finance provisions was understood. Proposition 140, however, continued to garner strong support, with more than a 60-percent approval rating in late October consistent with its level of support throughout the campaign.

In the end, the polls turned out to be wrong, but not wrong enough. Proposition 131 lost substantially, and Proposition 140 received nowhere near the support polls indicated it would receive. Proposition 140 did get just enough votes, however. Despite the fact that most incumbents were returned to office in their individual quests for reelection, the electorate was in the mood to throw them out *en masse*. Proposition 140 carried a majority of counties, including Orange, San Diego and Sacramento. It lost in predominantly Democratic strongholds like Los Angeles, San Francisco and Alameda.

Thus, did term limits become stamped into the California Constitution. And thus did Willie and David's neighborhood take a hit.

As with many controversial initiatives, the fight over term limits did not end with the tally of votes. It has been rumored that Democrats squirrled away part of their campaign warchest to pay for legal challenges, which are expected to be filed before the end of 1990. And in fact, San Francisco attorney Joe Remcho sounded what could be the opening bell of a new term-limit battle when he told the *Los Angeles Times*, "The voters in Orange County [where Proposition 140 passed overwhelmingly] have told the voters in San Francisco [where 140 failed] that they can't elect Willie Brown. They have told voters in a whole bunch of other districts that they can't elect the representatives of their choice. I don't see they have articulated a state interest compelling enough to justify that restriction on my right to vote."

Remcho is the same attorney hired by legislative Democrats to fight Propositions 68 and 73, the campaign-reform initiatives passed by voters in November 1988 and recently voided by the courts. Thus, a protracted battle over Proposition 140 seems inevitable. Supervisor Schabarum has vowed to back his proposal in any legal challenge. The concept of term limits has a legal precedent, of course — the 22nd amendment to the U.S. Constitution limits the president to two terms.

If Proposition 140 is ultimately upheld by the courts, its implementation may reverberate throughout the state's political architecture. First, there are staff cuts that must be made if the Legislature is to pare its budget by 38 percent, or about $70 million. There is some speculation that the Legislature will transfer some functions wholesale out of its budget — like the legislative analyst's office, the legislative counsel and the auditor general's office. Shortly after the election, Speaker Brown met with Assembly staff to reassure them that no cuts would be made before July. It has been reported that golden handshakes and early retirement may be offered to some to pare the staff through induced attrition. The Senate apparently is moving faster and is already slashing some staff.

Second, an increased round of musical districts could see incumbents pitted against one another for various offices, especially as lifelines run out in their current jobs. That kind of revolving door has already started to spin with the mid-November announcement that state Senator Art Torres will seek a seat on the Los Angeles Board of Supervisors in a special election early next year. If Torres stays in the Senate, he would be forced from office in 1998. Assemblyman Richard Polanco, whose term would be limited in 1996, has said he will seek Torres' Senate seat if Torres becomes a supervisor. Polanco would probably be opposed by Assemblywoman Lucille Roybal-Allard. And, so it would go. Also, several Assembly members are exploring a run for the Senate seat being vacated by John Doolittle, now a member of Congress.

Willie and David's neighborhood would become a place where residents turned on each other.

Finally, there is the new reapportionment to consider. State legislators will draw new district lines for every legislative *and* congressional district. And when it comes to drawing lines to suit someone's fancy, look for state legislators to draw congressional lines to suit themselves and not members of the state's congressional delegation. Those congressmen and women did little or nothing to help defeat Proposition 140, various staffers in the speaker's office grumped on election night, and cannot expect their interests to be protected in the aftermath. Even the addition of seven new House seats is not likely to stem intra-party blood-letting as members of the state Legislature cast about for some haven safe from career-ending term limits. Congress would offer that haven.

Unless, of course, the tornado moves on to threaten other neighborhoods.

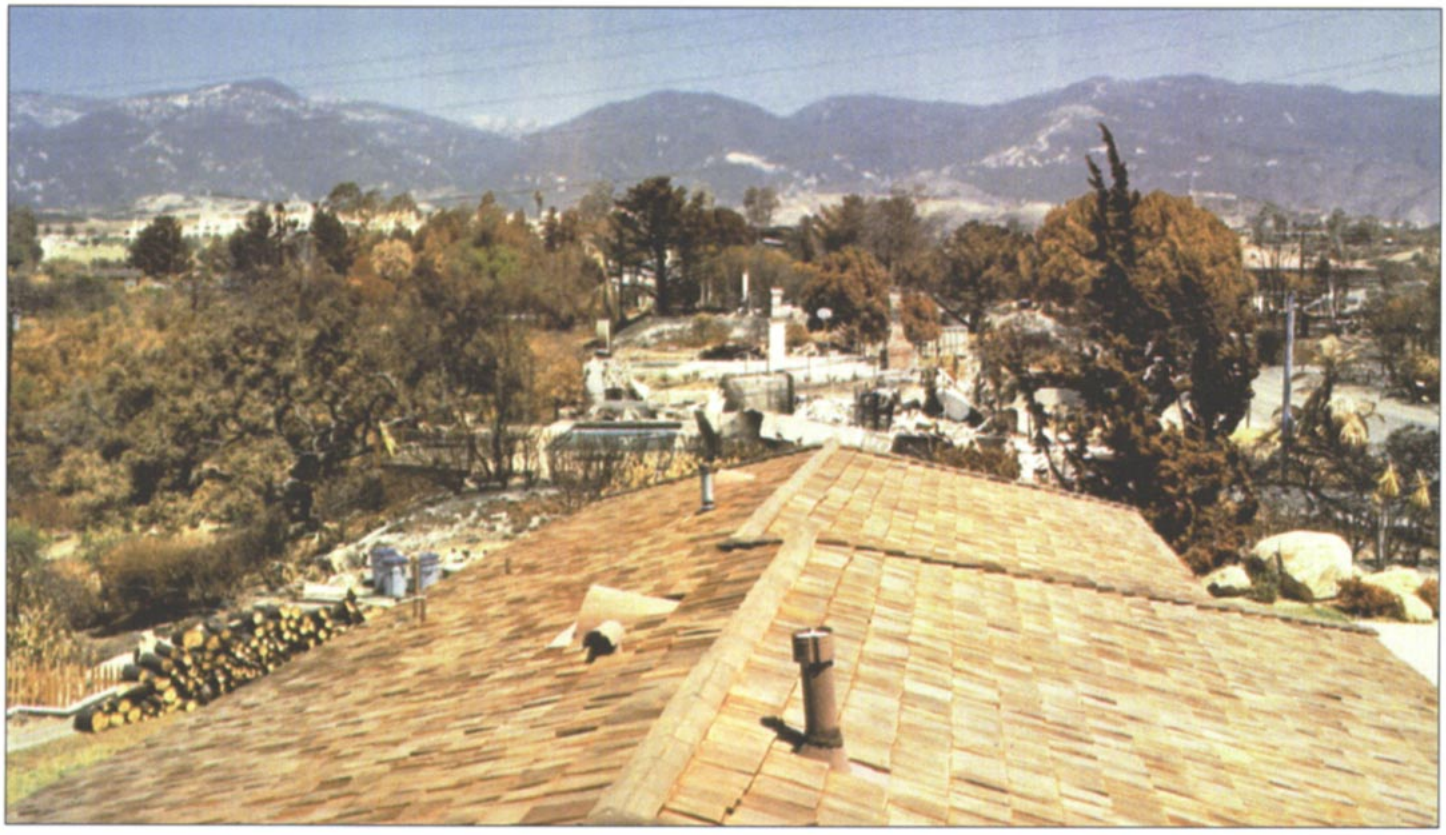
Once upon a time, there was a place called "Foley and Mitchell's neighborhood" ...

There was one other measure on the November ballot with political ramifications — Proposition 137, which sought to prevent legislative tampering with the initiative and referendum process. Sponsored by the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association, which incidentally makes money off the current system, Proposition 137 would have mandated that any changes to the initiative process be approved by the electorate. But the measure's chance for approval was hampered by the very nature of the campaign flowing around it. As shrill advertisement after shrill advertisement over one initiative or another screeched from the airwaves, voters increasingly saw that the process needed

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WOOD ROOF DEBATE

IS THERE A SAFE CHOICE FOR CALIFORNIA HOMEOWNERS?



This Santa Barbara home, roofed with pressure impregnated fire-retardant cedar shakes, survived this summer's Santa Barbara fire virtually undamaged. All of the surrounding homes, which had unrated roofs, were destroyed.

This summer's devastating fires in Santa Barbara and Glendale have once again raised questions about the fire safety of wood roofs.

Over the years, cedar shake and shingle roofs have been the scapegoat in residential fires throughout the state. Each time a structure with a shake or shingle roof is involved in a fire, members of the press and some in government are quick to label these roofs as dangerous for California homeowners.

In the past, this charge may have had some validity. Unrated roofs can burn when exposed to the kind of fires that rage in Southern California's unique climatic conditions. As California's population boom has forced new housing developments to expand further and further into dry hillside brush areas, the danger of fires and the threat to homes has increased.

But the truth—a truth which some in the media and government refuse to believe—is that today's cedar shake and shingle roofing products are not the same products of the past, and should not be subjected to the same condemnation.

More than 20 years ago cedar shake and shingle manufacturers recognized the dangers of unrated roofs in California's high fire hazard areas. The industry then went to work. It invested millions of dollars in research, development, and specialized equipment to create a process that transforms cedar shakes and shingles into permanently fire-redardant roofing products.

This is accomplished through a method of pressure-impregnating newly made cedar materials with fire-retardant chemicals at the time of manufacture.

These permanently fire-retardant cedar shakes and shingles are then subjected to stringent testing to ensure that they meet all local and national fire codes. The shakes and shingles that meet these test standards are identified by the Certi-Guard label and are the only wood materials permitted on new roofs in many communities throughout Southern California.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OFFICIALS IGNORE THE EVIDENCE

Unfortunately some media and government officials choose to disregard this proven fact of modern technology.

They dogmatically stick with misinformation based on the failures of the past and ignore years of independent testing results and official findings that prove that pressure-impregnated fire-retardant shakes and shingles provide permanent protection from the dangers of fire exposure.

For instance, Los Angeles Fire Chief Donald Manning and his staff continue to claim there is no evidence that pressure-impregnated shakes and shingles retain their fire-retardancy for life in Southern California's unique climate. Yet, they refuse to attend tests designed specifically to demonstrate this capability.

These officials are turning a blind eye to more than a decade's worth of evidence proving that fire-retardant pressure-impregnated cedar shakes and shingles retain their fire-rated status as well as any other type of fire-rated roofing material.

Unfounded claims about the lack of permanence of pressure-impregnated fire-retardant shakes and shingles are also perpetuated by the representatives of competing roofing products who stand to gain by discrediting the perfomance of pressure-impregnated cedar shakes and shingles.

PROVEN SAFETY RECORD

Nevertheless, there is overwhelming evidence that pressure-impregnated fire-retardant cedar shakes and shingles provide fire protection for the life of the roof.

Independent tests carried out by the Forest Products Laboratory, a division of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, proved that pressure-impregnated shakes and shingles showed no significant loss of fire-retardancy after 10 years of continuous severe outdoor weathering. Based on these tests, the Forest Products Laboratory concluded that pressure-impregnated fire-retardant shakes and shingles retain their protection for the life of the roof.

More tests continue to prove that pressure-impregnated fire-retardant shakes and shingles retain their fire protection after years of exposure to weathering in Southern California's harsh climate.

Most recently, bundles of pressure-impregnated fire-retardant cedar shakes that roofed a home in Malibu for more than 16 years—enduring Southern California's fierce winds, drenching rains and searing heat—were retested for fire-retardancy.

These 16-year-old California-weathered, pressure-impregnated shakes easily passed all Class C tests required for fire-retardancy.

Pressure-impregnation creates a new wood product resulting from a special process at the time of manufacture. Newly made cedar shakes and shingles are sealed inside a high-pressure vacuum chamber and all air and moisture is withdrawn from the wood. Fire-retardant chemicals are injected at pressures to 150 pounds per square inch forcing the fire-retardant into the very cells of the wood. The shakes then undergo a thermal cure to 200 degrees Fahrenheit which locks the fire-retardant into the wood fibers forever.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

INDUSTRY SUPPORTS FIRE SAFE ROOFING

As the manufacturers of fire-rated roofing materials, the cedar shake and shingle industry does not oppose the banning of non fire-rated roofs in high fire hazard areas of California. The industry has been in favor of, and supported, mandatory Class C roofing code in all California state lands designated as high fire hazard areas.

In addition, the industry actively supported the County of Los Angeles' ordinance making Class C roofing mandatory throughout the county. The industry supports and will continue to support local, regional and state efforts to provide fire-safe roofing.

The cedar shake and shingle industry asks only that lawmakers, officials, and members of the media make a clear distinction between today's fire-retardant shakes and shingles and the unrated shakes and shingles of the past and not mislead homeowners with untrue statements about pressure-impregnated fire-retardant cedar shakes and shingles.

Today's fire-rated pressure-impregnated fire-retardant cedar shake and shingle roofs are a safe and proven option for fire-safe roofing.

Pressure-impregnated fire-retardant cedar shakes and shingles meet Class A, Class B and Class C roofing codes. The rating difference is determined by the length of pressure-impregnation and the method in which the shakes and shingles are applied.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Another striking example of the fire protection provided by the pressure-impregnated material came in this summer's Santa Barbara fire. Two homes, one on Camino del Rio Drive and the other on Via Los Santos, both with Class B treated wood roofs (and both left unattended during the fire storm), survived the blaze undamaged, while surrounding homes with non fire-rated roofs were destroyed.

In addition, this April in Minnesota, a pressure-impregnated fire-retardant shake roof was credited with "preventing the spread of fire" by fire officers who fought an electrical-caused fire at the Inverness Grove Heights Community College.

DIFFERENT WOOD SHAKE PRODUCT

The reason for these reliable performances is that pressure-impregnated fire-retardant cedar shakes and shingles are a new wood product that is the result of a special process which occurs at the time of manufacture.

Bundles of newly made cedar shakes and shingles are sealed inside a huge high-pressure chamber. A vacuum is created, which draws out all the air and moisture from the cells of the wood, and fire-retardant chemical is injected at pressures up to 150 pounds per square inch. This forces the fire-retardant into the very cells of the wood. The shakes and shingles are then thermally cured at temperatures up to 200 degrees Fahrenheit which locks the fire-retardant through polymerization into the wood fibers forever.

MOST THOROUGHLY TESTED ROOFING PRODUCT

To insure that the pressure-impregnated shakes and shingles are fire-retardant, the product undergoes exhaustive testing to meet UL 790 (Underwriters Laboratories) specifications. Most roofing materials need pass only three tests to obtain a fire-rated classification. But pressure-impregnated cedar shakes and shingles must pass nine tests, including stringent simulated weathering tests to prove they are permanently fire-retardant. In addition, the fire-retardant shakes and shingles are periodically retested after actual outdoor weathering of 1, 2, 3, 5 and 10 years.

Pressure-impregnated fire-retardant cedar shakes and shingles meet all national, state and local standards for fire safety. To earn their fire-retardant classification, pressure-impregnated cedar shakes and shingles must pass a rigorous series of nine UL tests to ensure they are fire-retardant for the life of the roof.

The Class C and B ratings which the material receives certify that the shakes and shingles are effective against extensive exposure to fire, that they are not readily flammable when burning brands or fiery debris are placed on the roof surface, and that they will not create any burning debris which could contribute to the spread of a fire.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

some tinkering. And they apparently decided not to pass any measure that would make that tinkering more difficult. With little money to spend for advertising, the campaigns for and against 137 were virtually invisible. It passed in only a handful of counties, the most notable of which was Orange where it gathered 54 percent of the vote. It lost most everywhere else.

Eco-Props

The November elections didn't do much for the environment. The voter, perhaps cautious, perhaps confused, turned down a quintet of measures that were billed an benefiting the environment, even though some of these were really placed on the ballot by industry groups concerned about the effects of stronger measures sponsored by environmental groups.

The most ambitious of the proposals, "Big Green" as it was called by its backers, was also the most controversial of the proposals. Sponsored by a coalition that included a number of environmental groups such as the Sierra Club, National Wildlife Federation, California League of Conservation Voters and the National Resources Defense Council and by Assemblymen Tom Hayden of Santa Monica and Lloyd Connelly of Sacramento, Big Green sought to pass

Proposition 128 — "Big Green"		
Yes	2,638,148	(36%)
No	**4,674,540**	**(64%)**
Proposition 130 — Forest protection		
Yes	3,447,585	(47%)
No	**3,852,951**	**(53%)**
Proposition 132 — Gill nets		
Yes	**3,928,108**	**(56%)**
No	3,117,779	(44%)
Proposition 135 — Pesticide regulation		
	Yes 2,173,362	(30%)
No	**4,978,060**	**(70%)**
Proposition 138 — Forest harvesting		
Yes	2,091,115	(29%)
No	**5,162,019**	**(71%)**
Proposition 141 — Safe drinking water		
Yes	3,307,038	(49%)
No	**3,515,837**	**(52%)**

into law a wide range of environmental programs backers had been unable to get through the Legislature.

Proposition 128 would have established programs to: regulate pesticide use on food products; reduce air pollution with an eye both toward reducing the global "greenhouse effect" some fear may be warming the earth's atmosphere, and eliminating the use of chemicals that deplete the earth's ozone layer; reduce the logging of the state's remaining virgin redwood forests; ban further oil drilling in state coastal waters; and increase standards for treated sewage water.

In part, the complexity of the program may have led to its downfall. While some sections of the proposed law contained excruciating detail of how matters were to be handled, others were frustratingly vague. For example, the measure sets as a goal a 40 percent reduction in carbon-monoxide emissions by 2010, but there is no description of how this is to be accomplished. While backers maintained that it would give state regulators flexibility, it also gave opponents room to come up with "worst case" scenarios that contained price tags large enough to frighten away voters concerned about a faltering economy.

Furthermore, opponents pounced on Tom Hayden's involvement. Hayden was one of its major backers, and there was talk he wanted to become the "environmental czar" created by the proposal — an ambition he was forced to disavow before the campaign ended. Opponents figured, correctly, that the public still harbors doubts about Hayden from his anti-Vietnam War days to make them suspicious of anything he sponsors. In the end, this measure was crushed, with more than 63 percent of the public voting against it.

"Big Green" also spawned at least one direct "counter-initiative," Proposition 135, designed to appeal to voters as a moderate alternative on the pesticide issue. This measure would have increased the state's existing testing program, but stuck taxpayers for the bill. Voters weren't fooled, with nearly 70 percent of them opposed.

There were also a pair of measures dealing with the cutting of the state's dwindling forest lands. There are about 1.7 million acres of redwood forests remaining in the state, but only 208,000 of these are virgin forests that have never been logged. The environmentalist-sponsored initiative, Proposition 130, would have eliminated the cutting of the remaining old-growth redwood stands, with the state purchasing these timberlands from the proceeds of a $742 million bond issue. The measure would have ended the practice of harvesting trees by "clear-cutting," or chopping down all the trees in a parcel at the same time. The timber industry countered with Proposition 138, which also claimed that it banned clear-cutting. But opponents noted that tracts still could be denuded of trees over a three-year period. Furthermore, the measure would allow timber companies to file one long-term plan for cutting all their land, eliminating the parcel-by-parcel approval needed under existing regulations.

Proposition 130 did the best of the environmentalist-sponsored measures, winning more than 47 percent of the vote. The timber industry's proposal managed to less than 30 percent of the vote, but the group won the larger battle by clouding the issue enough so that the "Forests Forever" proposal was defeated.

Voters also turned down Proposition 141 by a narrow margin. This measure is really an extension of a measure voters passed in 1986, Proposition 65, that tightens standards for drinking water and requires warnings when businesses use chemicals that are known to cause cancer or birth defects. But Proposition 65 exempted public agencies, most notably municipal water systems, from its requirements. This measure would have included them. Opponents argued that the measure wasn't necessary because local governments were already acting responsibly. Apparently, 51 percent of voters agreed.

The one environmental measure approved by the voters probably wasn't really an environmental question at all. Proposition 132 would ban the use of "gill nets," fine filament nets used to catch large quantities of fish at one time, in California coastal waters. Supporters argued that the nets catch fish indiscriminately and that sometimes marine mammals and birds are also captured. But, in fact, the measure was sponsored by sport-fishing interests that think commercial fishermen are taking too many fish from areas they use. The measure will cost taxpayers nothing, and more than 55 percent of them voted to add this provision to the state Constitution.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Tax Props

The state's voters were in no mood to mess with the tax system, turning down proposals to raise taxes but also killing a measure that would have made future tax increases even harder to obtain. The new tax proposals covered crime and alcohol, with a pair on each subject going down to defeat.

Alcohol proposals took center stage with the "adult beverage" industry popping all their corks in an attempt to defeat Proposition 134, the so-called "nickel-a-drink" measure that would have boosted the state's liquor taxes from among the lowest in the country to among the highest.

Early polls found the measure popular with voters, but the alcohol industry flooded the airwaves with commercials, hammering at the fact that the measure contained a clause that would protect existing expenditures for health care and earmark new alcohol taxes for new services. The industry also found some needed support from the California Teachers Association. The teachers focused on the fact that none of the money from the proposal would go to schools — leaving unsaid their major concern: that the measure would start carving away at the 40 percent piece of the state budget pie they had gained for themselves with the passage of Proposition 98 in 1988.

Proposition 126 — Industry alcohol tax		
Yes	2,994,756	(41%)
No	**4,258,122**	**(59%)**
Proposition 129 — Crime reduction		
Yes	2,008,881	(28%)
No	**5,098,029**	**(72%)**
Proposition 133 — Drug enforcement		
Yes	2,265,511	(32%)
No	**4,838,848**	**(68%)**
Proposition 134 — Nickel-a-drink tax		
Yes	2,266,899	(31%)
No	**5,036,996**	**(69%)**
Proposition 136 — State, local taxation		
Yes	3,413,249	(48%)
No	**3,715,494**	**(52%)**

The measure — which was sponsored in great part by emergency room physicians and others who stood to benefit from $760 million that would be raised — was put on the ballot following a record-breaking state budget stalemate. And at least some of the blame for the budget deadlock was laid at the feet of an increasing number of "entitlement" programs that limited the flexibility of legislators and the governor. Proposition 134 exacerbated the problem by creating new entitlement programs, and it was this fact that caused many of the state's major newspapers to oppose the measure.

To hedge their bets, the alcohol industry placed its own tax-increase proposal (Proposition 126) on the ballot. This one was much lower, and would have fixed the increases in the state Constitution. Perhaps just to demonstrate its clout, the industry didn't even bother to go the initiative route; they got the Legislature to do it for them, with lawmakers obligingly putting the proposal up as one of their own. Just over 41 percent of the voters backed the alcohol industry measure, with Proposition 134 getting 10 percent less support, or a 31 percent favorable vote.

Proposition 136, a measure that would have made it more difficult to raise state and local taxes, was put on the ballot by the spiritual heirs of the authors of Proposition 13 — Howard Jarvis and Paul Gann. Although both are now dead, organizations with their names carry on. The measure would require that all state and local "special taxes," those earmarked for a specific purpose, receive approval from two-thirds of the voters instead of the majority now required. Had it passed, the measure would have applied to last November's ballot, too. This clause became known as the "poison pill," and was the reason the measure received substantial support from the liquor industry. If Proposition 134 had passed with a simple majority, this measure might have killed it because it didn't receive the two-thirds vote required. Proposition 136 itself required only a majority vote, but it fell just short, receiving about 48 percent of the votes cast.

The "poison pill" might even have ended up killing a law-enforcement measure, Proposition 133, that was also on the ballot. This measure, sponsored by Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy, would have raised the state sales tax by a half-cent over a four-year period, with the money going to an array of law-enforcement and drug-eradication programs. The measure was opposed by McCarthy's Republican opponent, Marian Bergeson, who argued that the programs should receive additional financing without resorting to new taxes. McCarthy won a third term, but his initiative failed. A *California Poll* taken just before the election showed three-fourths of the voters had heard nothing about the measure. They apparently arrived on election day, saw the tax increase, and killed the proposal, giving it barely 32 percent of the vote.

A similar fate befell Proposition 129. This was one of a troika of proposals that were to be the centerpiece of Attorney General John Van de Kamp's campaign for governor. That campaign was cut short by Dianne Feinstein, but the initiative measures lived on. This one would have established a $1.1 billion "anti-drug superfund" to be distributed to state and local law-enforcement programs. The initiative proposed financing the programs through a series of changes in the state tax codes. Unfortunately, most of these had already been made by lawmakers seeking to balance the budget, so money for the new programs would have had to come from existing state programs. Less than 30 percent of the voters gave their support to this measure.

Other Propositions and Bonds

What is one to make of the failure of bond measures on the November 1990 ballot? Are Californians suddenly against clean water? Against higher education? Against parks and child care? Against affordable housing? Have Californians gone soft on crime by voting down money for new prisons and county jails?

No, Californians have not given up on the environment, gone soft on crime, or turned their backs on higher education and children. Another, more visceral political dynamic was at work.

Basically, Californians have revolted against the proposition ballot itself — the length of it, the complexity of it,

Continued on page 588

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A QUESTION OF FOCUS

If you're having a little problem with all the bewildering fine print of the complicated child support game, maybe it's really just a question of focus.

The child support team at Lockheed IMS can help you put into focus the whirling kaleidoscope of child support and constantly changing regulations, policies, and responsibilities.

Focus is really what we offer clients.

We can help you **manage** change—help you stay ahead of the game. We can keep you ahead of shifting trends—put you in strategic command of all your opportunities.

Our focus is on child support—on your program and needs. How well we do is directly measured by your success.

In Lockheed IMS, all the resources of one of the world's largest corporations can be brought to bear in a concentrated way on effective solutions to your problems.

Lockheed IMS and Child Support: A unique focus: We see problems as possibilities.

Lockheed Information Management Services Company

A Subsidiary of Lockheed Corporation

Child Support Services

5120 W. Goldleaf Circle • Suite 200 • Los Angeles, California 90056 • (213) 290-6700

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the use of it. The bonds were probably innocent casualties, bystanders caught in the crossfire between voters and special interests who have captured the initiative process.

Certainly, other factors contributed to the defeat of bond measures. For instance, many voters were concerned about piling up too much debt in a weakening economy. Other voters simply decided that some spending was unnecessary; courthouse reconstruction, for instance. And the housing assistance bonds, a pet project of outgoing Gover-

Proposition 124 — Hospital finance		
Yes	3,207,902	(46%)
No	**3,780,647**	**(54%)**
Proposition 125 — Rails, tax use		
Yes	3,216,426	(46%)
No	**3,819,297**	**(54%)**
Proposition 127 — Earthquake safety		
Yes	**4,332,042**	**(61%)**
No	2,783,824	(39%)
Proposition 139 — Prison labor		
Yes	**3,835,860**	**(54%)**
No	3,263,545	(46%)
Proposition 142 — Veterans' bonds		
Yes	**4,120,749**	**(59%)**
No	2,863,419	(41%)
Proposition 143 — Higher education bonds		
Yes	3,422,964	(49%)
No	**3,591,244**	**(51%)**
Proposition 144 — Prison bonds		
Yes	2,851,496	(40%)
No	**4,203,671**	**(60%)**
Proposition 145 — Housing bonds		
Yes	3,111,268	(45%)
No	**3,873,019**	**(56%)**
Proposition 146 — School bonds		
Yes	**3,512,143**	**(52%)**
No	3,254,847	(48%)
Proposition 147 — County jail bonds		
Yes	2,455,579	(37%)
No	**4,124,728**	**(63%)**
Proposition 148 — Water-quality bonds		
Yes	2,893,760	(44%)
No	**3,689,212**	**(56%)**
Proposition 149 — Park bonds		
Yes	3,189,126	(47%)
No	**3,551,423**	**(53%)**
Proposition 150 — County courthouse bonds		
Yes	1,750,468	(27%)
No	**4,849,560**	**(74%)**
Proposition 151 — Child-care bonds		
Yes	3,211,141	(48%)
No	**3,528,533**	**(52%)**

nor George Deukmejian, received negative press in September after being subjected to vigorous opposition in the Legislature.

But the wholesale defeat of bond measures — most of them without any organized opposition — is unprecedented and, more than the defeat of various initiative measures, signals growing voter weariness with proposition lawmaking. Two years ago a water-bond measure received 72 percent of the vote, higher-education bonds got 58 percent, prison bonds got 61 percent, and county jail bonds got 55 percent. Even a library construction bond passed with 53 percent. No bond measure lost.

Just this past June voters again approved every bond on the ballot, including another higher-education bond (55 percent), earthquake retrofit bonds (55 percent), a prison bond (56 percent), two rail bonds (56 and 53 percent), a school bond (58 percent) and homeless bond (53 percent).

But in a dramatic and swift (by political standards) turnaround, all November bonds but those for veterans' home loans and schools failed. Even school bonds, traditionally a no-brainer "yes" vote, received only 52 percent of the vote. Veterans' bonds received the largest percentage of the vote (59 percent), and those bonds cost virtually nothing because veteran borrowers — and not taxpayers — pay them back.

In large measure the bonds were hampered by the size of the ballot itself and by the complex nature of competing initiatives that confused and ultimately alienated voters. When confronted with confusion, voters are inclined to vote "no." This time, they voted "hell, no." Democratic strongholds like Alameda, Los Angeles and Monterey counties generally supported the bonds. But they went down heavily everywhere else, by 50 and 60 percent in many rural counties.

It also may be argued that the bonds suffered because they came at the tail end of the ballot. Propositions are assigned ballot numbers as they are certified by the secretary of state. Bonds, which are supposed to come first on the ballot, were last this time because lawmakers could not agree on a bond package until the last day of the legislative session, after all other initiatives and propositions had qualified and been certified. Thus, voters had to wade through the entire roster of candidates and a jungle of initiatives before arriving at the bonds. Vote totals indicate that nearly three-quarters of a million voters did not make it all the way through the ballot on election day. For instance, 7 million voters cast ballots for governor. Over 6.8 million voted on Proposition 128, "Big Green." But an average of less than 6.3 million cast ballots on most of the bonds, including the last statewide item — Proposition 151, the child-care bond.

Other casualties of voter discontent were:

- Proposition 124, an innocuous measure that would have allowed public hospitals to diversify their investments by forming partnerships with doctors and other health providers to set up outpatient clinics and pre-paid health-care programs. Although proponents argued that it would be a boon to rural counties, most rural counties voted overwhelmingly against it. In fact, Proposition 124 carried only Yolo County. There was virtually no campaign for or against this measure, and it bore no cost to the public; and,
- Proposition 125, a measure that would have allowed light-rail, subway and trolley systems to use a portion of gas-tax revenues to buy rolling stock — *if local voters approved of the use.* A provision allowing voters to approve each potential use at the ballot box couldn't save another, seemingly harmless measure from the axe. Proposition 125 carried only eight counties. It lost in 50, including those with active and important light-rail systems (Contra Costa, Los Angeles, Sacramento and San Diego).

Voters did approve two non-bond measures, however:

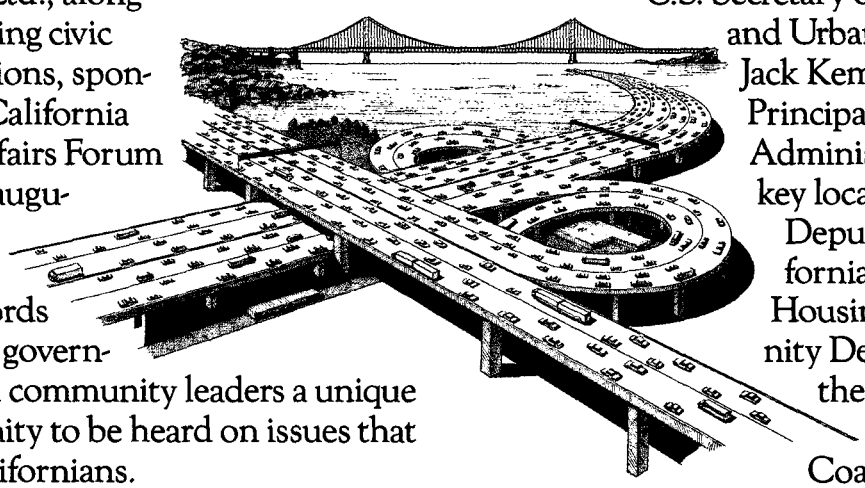
- Proposition 127, which followed a long-established tradition of providing exemptions to property tax increases for various kinds of construction; in this case, for renovations for earthquake safety; and,
- Proposition 139, which allowed state prison and local jail officials to contract with private organizations for prison labor. Sponsored by Governor George Deukmejian, Proposition 139 was opposed by organized labor. Voters, however, bought into the measure, whose general theme was "put criminals to work."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In Search of Cures for California's Growing Pains

California. The very name conjures up gold rushes and endless summers. But the California dream has a dark side. Air pollution. Clogged highways. Housing shortages. The side effects of rampant growth.

It is to encourage discussion of potential solutions for such problems that Hitachi, Ltd., along with leading civic organizations, sponsors the California Public Affairs Forum series. Inaugurated in 1987, the series affords business, government and community leaders a unique opportunity to be heard on issues that affect Californians.



At the inaugural Forum in Los Angeles, futurist Alvin Toffler addressed California's transportation crisis. The Forum was repeated in San Francisco a week later.

In 1989 the Forum returned by popular demand in an expanded format. On November 2 the Forum convened in San Francisco to address the growing imbalance between jobs and housing in the San Francisco Bay Area. A week later in Los Angeles the Forum's subject was how to strike a balance between economic growth and air quality. Both events attracted some 200 state and local officials and business leaders even in the aftermath of the region's biggest earthquake in nearly a century.

Such attendance is hardly surprising with nationally noted speakers like U.S. Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Jack Kemp, The EPA's Principal Assistant Administrator and such key local officials as the Deputy Director of California's Department of Housing and Community Development and the Executive Director of the South Coast Air Quality Management District.

These people who comprise the Forum's blue-ribbon panels have significant insights into California's most pressing problems.

Hitachi is proud to be a Forum sponsor. We believe this kind of activity will lead to positive exchanges for Californians and, indeed for all Americans.

For more information, write: Hitachi, P.O. Box 35146, Los Angeles, CA 90035.

HITACHI®

© 1990 HITACHI

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

District-by-district analysis

Election 1990

Yes, it is true — nearly every congressional and state legislative incumbent who sought reelection was returned to office. And yes, the wave of voter discontent that some thought might sweep many of those incumbents into the political ashcan never materialized. That doesn't mean, of course, that voters forgave and forgot their anger over the scandals and ineffectiveness plaguing government. Voters always seem to believe that the trouble lies with "the other guy" rather than with their own representatives. To get at "the other guy," the electorate approved term limits for everyone (Proposition 140 — a constitutional time bomb that will blow every incumbent state legislator from office by 1998.) And although Proposition 140 applies only to state lawmakers, it will reverberate throughout the congressional delegation as well when state legislators begin to redistrict the state sometime next year. The state's House delegation did little to help defeat Proposition 140, and as Assembly members and senators begin to cast about for some haven from term limits, many will look to Congress.

A few incumbents were retired by their constituents. In the Senate, Republican Jim Nielsen was defeated by Democrat Mike Thompson. In the Assembly, Republicans Sunny Mojonnier, Jeff Marston and Curt Pringle lost their seats in a wave of anti-incumbent feeling that swept through Orange and San Diego counties. Democrat Norm Waters was also defeated. Three incumbent members of the House also lost: Democrats Doug Bosco and Jim Bates, and Republican Chip Pashayan.

In addition to these defeats, many other incumbents were slapped around. To track how incumbent popularity has slipped over the past few elections, *California Journal* has included the percent of vote gained by each incumbent in his or her two most-recent elections. Those numbers will appear in parentheses at the beginning of each district review. If only one number appears, it means the incumbent has run only once before. If no number appears, it means the winner has been elected for the first time.

Next year California's delegation in the House of Representatives will have 26 Democrats and 17 Republicans. Democrats will continue to control both houses of the Legislature, as well. The Assembly will have 48 Democrats and 32 Republicans. In the Senate, there will be 22 Democrats, 15 Republicans and one independent. There are also two Senate vacancies to be filled in special elections next year to replace Democrat John Garamendi, who was elected insurance commissioner, and Republican John Doolittle, who was elected to Congress. Each party probably will capture one of the vacancies.

Congress

DISTRICT 1 (55% D - 33% R)

Bosco (D*)	89,993	(42%)
Riggs (R)	**91,958**	**(43%)**
Comingore (P&F)	31,509	(15%)

(68, 63) For eight years incumbent Doug Bosco has managed to find the fine line between timber lovers and tree cutters in this North Coast district that runs from Marin County to the Oregon border. But this year, following the unrest of "Redwood Summer" and a string of revelations in the Santa Rosa Press-Democrat *about the real-estate fortune Bosco accumulated while serving the public in Congress and in the Assembly, Bosco was toppled by businessman Frank Riggs. He is one of only three state congressmen to be defeated this year, despite widespread feelings of voter discontent, and he was the most unlikely of the victims. As a result Bosco was not as well prepared for his campaign as he should have been. In the end, his reelection chances were sabotaged from the left, where Peace and Freedom candidate Darlene Comingore gathered in nearly 15 percent of the vote, including a whopping 21 percent in Mendocino County and 17 percent in Sonoma County where the biggest share of the district's voters reside. The irony for environmentalists is that their new congressman, Riggs, is less likely than Bosco to share their sentiments.*

Bosco

Riggs

DISTRICT 2 (45% D - 44% R)

Rush (D)	64,396	(31%)
Herger (R*)	**131,085**	**(64%)**
Crain (L)	10,606	(5%)

(58, 59) This vast district in the northeastern corner of California is safe territory for Republicans, even for Wally Herger, and Democrats made no real effort here.

DISTRICT 3 (55% D - 36% R)

Matsui (D*)	**130,973**	**(60%)**
Landowski (R)	75,474	(35%)
McCann (L)	10,712	(5%)

(76, 71) Now that Bob Matsui has disposed of perennial candidate Lowell Landowski for the third time, he can put his full attention to what he has really been worrying about: mounting a challenge for the U.S.

KEY

D = Democrat
R = Republican
I = Independent (no party affiliation)
AI = American Independent Party
L = Libertarian
P&F = Peace and Freedom
* = Incumbent

(70, 76) = the incumbent's percentage of the vote in his or her two most recent elections.
(D% - R%) = percentage of Democratic and Republican voter registration in each district
Winners are listed in bold

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Senate in 1992. Even before Alan Cranston bowed out, Matsui announced that he wanted to run for the job. But now that Cranston is no longer a candidate, the field might open up for all sorts of pesky Matsui opponents. But the 12-year congressman has proved himself an excellent money-raiser, and he should have a good head start over most of these upstarts — thanks, in part, to help from the state's Asian community.

DISTRICT 4 (52% D - 37% R)

Fazio (D*)	**113,023**	**(55%)**
Baughman (R)	80,798	(39%)
Bigwood (L)	12,471	(6%)

(70, 100) If there really had been a tide flowing against political insiders, then Sacramento's Vic Fazio should have been the first to be washed out to sea. Fazio has turned into the consummate congressional insider, universally respected by his colleagues. Indeed, it is usually Fazio who must undertake the unpleasant task of carrying congressional pay-raise bills, which always give opponents something to attack. But these same qualities have made Fazio one of the state's most powerful representatives, and voters in the state capital and its environs apparently still appreciate what he can do for them by returning him to office for the seventh time. He beat Mark Baughman, an aide to state Senator John Doolittle, who is about to become Fazio's companion in Washington.

DISTRICT 5 (65% D - 20% R)

Pelosi (D*)	**120,579**	**(77%)**
Nichols (R)	35,651	(23%)

(78) Here's one incumbent who didn't see her percentage of the vote drop from two years ago.

DISTRICT 6 (59% D - 27% R)

Boxer (D*)	**135,335**	**(68%)**
Boerum (R)	63,307	(32%)

(74, 74) Barbara Boxer was the first to formally announce for the U.S. Senate in 1992. Now her only concern is making sure she stays out of the way of another famous San Francisco woman, Dianne Feinstein, who also says she's interested. Fortunately, there will be two Senate seats up, so Boxer has plenty of room to maneuver.

DISTRICT 7 (54% D - 34% R)

Miller (D*)	**120,584**	**(61%)**
Payton (R)	78,704	(40%)

(67, 69) George Miller had little trouble winning a 10th term.

DISTRICT 8 (53% D - 24% R)

Dellums (D*)	**118,967**	**(61%)**
Galewski (R)	75,101	(39%)

(60, 67) They hate Ron Dellums in Contra Costa County, where he got only 34 percent of the vote. Fortunately for the Oakland congressman, most of his district is in Alameda County, where he got nearly 75 percent of the vote.

DISTRICT 9 (58% D - 30% R)

Stark (D*)	**94,351**	**(58%)**
Romero (R)	67,166	(42%)

(70, 73) Fortney "Pete" Stark made something of a mistake earlier this year when he said that U.S. Health and Welfare Secretary Louis Sullivan, who is a Black, was a discredit to his race. Stark apologized after bringing down upon his head the wrath of just about everybody — everybody, that is, except the voters in his district. They sent him to Congress for the 10th time, although with a lot fewer votes than last time.

DISTRICT 10 (58% D - 29% R)

Edwards (D*)	**81,436**	**(63%)**
Patrosso (R)	48,472	(37%)

(71, 86) The dean of California's congressional delegation returns to Washington for his 15th term.

DISTRICT 11 (55% D - 32% R)

Lantos (D*)	**104,561**	**(66%)**
Quraishi (R)	45,778	(29%)
Genis (L)	8,760	(6%)

(74, 71) This was a very big year for consulting engineer Bill Quraishi. He managed to get 28 percent of the vote against five-term incumbent Tom Lantos. That's 4 percent better than in 1988. At this rate, he'll have Lantos out of office in 2002.

DISTRICT 12 (44% D - 42% R)

Palmer (D)	67,931	(34%)
Campbell (R*)	**123,155**	**(61%)**
Olson (L)	11,040	(6%)

(51) Tom Campbell had what was probably his toughest fight for Congress in 1988 when he defeated Republican incumbent Ernie Konnyu for the nomination and Democrat Anna Eschoo in the general election. Following a solid first term, he easily collected more than 60 percent of the vote, and his name has been mentioned among those Pete Wilson might appoint to the U.S. Senate.

DISTRICT 13 (49% D - 38% R)

Mineta (D*)	**96,711**	**(58%)**
Smith (R)	59,439	(36%)
Webster (L)	10,507	(6%)

(70, 67) Here, too, a popular incumbent was somewhat less popular this year. But 16-year veteran Norm Mineta's contest was still not nearly as close as it would have been in this marginal district had there not been a popular incumbent on the ballot.

DISTRICT 14 (45% D - 45% R)

Malberg (D)	120,204	(49%)
Doolittle (R)	**127,232**	**(51%)**

Maverick Democrat Patricia Malberg wanted to prove that it's still possible to win political office the old fashioned way: with shoe leather, an organization of friends and talk about the issues. And she almost managed to pull it off. She began the contest four years ago when she ran against the

Doolittle

Malberg

district's incumbent, Norm Shumway. It wasn't much of a contest then; Shumway got 62 percent of the vote, but Malberg never stopped campaigning. When Shumway decided not to run again, ambitious state Senator John Doolittle stepped in. In a district that should be a slam-dunk for Republicans, Malberg made Doolittle pull out all the stops to gain victory. And in Doolittle's case, all the stops had a familiar ring. Bright and articulate with bedrock conservative values, Doolittle's campaigns always seem to be among the dirtiest around. In his 1984 Senate reelection, for instance, Doolittle was embroiled in a three-way race that involved a Democrat and another incumbent — independent Ray Johnson. At the last minute, Doolittle illegally pumped funds to the Democratic challenger for a mailer that helped siphon off just enough votes from the independent to allow Doolittle to squeak by. The Fair Political Practices Commission subsequently slapped Doolittle and his campaign with a hefty fine, but the damage had been done. This time, the first thing the Doolittle campaign did was imply the Malbergs had failed to pay their taxes, even though it turned out the tax lien cited by the Doolittle campaign had been placed in error and cleared up long ago. Things never got much better, with Doolittle repeatedly charging Malberg with being a "peacenik" and "bleeding-heart liberal" in interviews and advertising. Malberg, who said she wasn't interested in taking money from established political interests, never stooped to such tactics but also never raised the money to counter them. In the end she could not overcome the Doolittle campaign machine.

DISTRICT 15 (55% D - 36% R)

Condit (D*)	**100,127**	**(66%)**
Burris (R)	51,596	(34%)

Gary Condit had little trouble winning his first full term in Washington after winning a special election last year to fill out the unexpired term of Tony Coelho.

DISTRICT 16 (51% D - 35% R)

Panetta (D*)	**122,667**	**(74%)**
Reiss (R)	36,085	(22%)
Tucker (L)	6,276	(4%)

(78, 79) This is another district that in theory should pose problems for Democrats. But it is held by Leon Panetta, who holds one of Congress' most powerful jobs — head of the House Budget Committee — and his central-coast constituents apparently ap-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

preciate this. He is one of the few incumbents who did not see his victory margin fall appreciably this year.

DISTRICT 17 (48% D - 43% R)

Dooley (D)	**82,335**	**(55%)**
Pashayan (R*)	68,631	(46%)

(60, 71) Political pundits aren't so sure what affect the savings-and-loan scandal had on the November elections. But soon-to-be-former congressman Chip Pashayan can have few doubts. Pashayan is one of the major recipients of the campaign

Dooley

Pashayan

largess of Charles Keating Jr., who is now on trial for his role in the national S&L scandal. Pashayan received some $26,000 in contributions from Keating and has acknowledged lobbying regulators on behalf of Keating and his Lincoln Savings and Loan. That was enough for Democrats to work with, but they added to the mix by recruiting fourth-generation farmer Cal Dooley, who also worked for two years as administrative assistant to state Senator Rose Vuich. The Visalia resident has the right look and feel for this Central Valley district, and with the help of the Rose King-Larry Sheingold campaign team, he beat Pashayan in all four of its counties — Fresno, Kings, Kern and Tulare — despite a last-minute attempt to blast Dooley because his family, like most farmers in the Central Valley, had taken crop subsidies from the federal government.

DISTRICT 18 (59% D - 33% R)

Lehman (D*)	**97,544**	**(100%)**

(71, 70) Here's one incumbent who didn't have to worry about a backlash.

DISTRICT 19 (45% D - 41% R)

Ferguson (D)	76,644	(45%)
Lagomarsino (R*)	**94,236**	**(55%)**

(72, 50) Educator Anita Perez Ferguson, a former aide to popular state Senator Gary Hart, hoped that her former boss had softened up eight-term incumbent Bob Lagomarsino for the kill two years ago when Hart fell just a point-and-a-half short of ousting the incumbent. Ferguson had a couple of things going for her at the start of the campaign, including Largomarsino's ambivalent stance on off-shore oil drilling and his position against abortion rights for women. But abortion politics faded as the economy went south this summer and voters started worrying more about things such as war in the Mid-East. Ferguson couldn't raise the kind of money Hart did, and she managed to win only 45 percent of the vote. Still, Lagomarsino appears to be vulnerable to some sort of attack, and unless he gets help from this year's reapportionment, he can expect more spirited challenges ahead.

DISTRICT 20 (41% D - 49% R)

M.Thomas (D)	62,603	(35%)
W.Thomas (R*)	**107,574**	**(60%)**
Dilbeck (L)	10,088	(6%)

(73, 71) Incumbent Bill Thomas had to beat back a primary challenge from the right in June and fight off name confusion in November, so maybe that explains why he gathered only 60 percent of the vote this year, below his usual 70-plus percent.

DISTRICT 21 (37% D - 52% R)

Freiman (D)	68,845	(34%)
Gallegly (R*)	**118,190**	**(58%)**
Christensen (L)	15,351	(8%)

(68, 69) What does it mean when incumbents like Elton Gallegly, who has had four uneventful years in Congress, suddenly find they can capture only 58 percent of the vote in a district where only 37 percent of the voters are Democrats? If Gallegly doesn't have to worry, George Bush does.

DISTRICT 22 (35% D - 55% R)

Bayer (D)	61,420	(34%)
Moorhead (R*)	**108,171**	**(60%)**
Wilson (L)	6,677	(4%)
Tucker (P&F)	3,940	(2%)

(74, 69) When his term ends in 1992, Carlos Moorhead will have completed 20 years in Congress. But he's another incumbent whose percentage of the vote fell below 60 in a district where once he gathered more than 85 percent.

DISTRICT 23 (54% D - 36% R)

Beilenson (D*)	**102,760**	**(62%)**
Salomon (R)	56,883	(34%)
Honigsfeld (P&F)	6,802	(4%)

(66, 64) Tony Beilenson has been in business here since he was elected to the Assembly in 1963. The residents of Malibu, Beverly Hills and the San Fernando Valley have been sending him to Congress since 1976.

DISTRICT 24 (59% D - 28% R)

Waxman (D*)	**71,333**	**(69%)**
Cowles (R)	26,518	(26%)
Phair (P&F)	5,682	(6%)

(88, 73) Here's one district that apparently still appreciates the advantages that a smart, hard-working incumbent with a little seniority can bring. Maybe they are just a little more down-to-earth in, er, Hollywood than in the rest of the state.

DISTRICT 25 (67% D - 22% R)

Roybal (D*)	**47,972**	**(70%)**
Renshaw (R)	16.957	(25%)
Scott (L)	3,559	(5%)

(76, 86) Get this. Ed Roybal has been elected to one office or another in six different decades — his first election being a seat on the Los Angeles City Council back in 1949. He'll have 30 years in Congress under his belt by the end of this term and wins reelection in a tough year with more than 70 percent of the vote. And now Latino leaders in Los Angeles say maybe he should give up Washington and become the compromise candidate for the vacant seat on the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors to prevent a political blood-bath among the more junior pretenders to Hispanic leadership. He said, "No."

DISTRICT 26 (57% D - 34% R)

Berman (D*)	**77,804**	**(61%)**
Dahlson (R)	44,367	(35%)
Zimring (L)	5,255	(4%)

(65, 71) Things still look pretty secure for the second half of the Waxman-Berman political machine.

DISTRICT 27 (54% D - 34% R)

Levine (D*)	**90,579**	**(58%)**
Cohen (R)	57,971	(37%)
Ferrer (P&F)	7,080	(5%)

(64, 68) Now that this election is behind him, Mel Levine can concentrate on running for the U.S. Senate in '92.

DISTRICT 28 (72% D - 19% R)

Dixon (D*)	**69,256**	**(73%)**
Adams (R)	21,209	(22%)
Weber (L)	2,146	(2%)
Williams (P&F)	2,717	(3%)

(77, 76) Maybe you need to be the head of the House Ethics Committee to avoid incumbent fall-off this year.

DISTRICT 29 (82% D - 12% R)

Waters (D)	**51,226**	**(79%)**
DeWitt (R)	12,027	(19%)
Boctor (L)	1,266	(2%)

For most of this year Maxine Waters has

Waters

been, gracefully, trying to pretend she wasn't already assured of a trip to — and most likely a long stay in — Washington. Well, gird your loins, nation's capital, Maxine is on the way. She's been interested in this seat for a long time, but the venerable Gus Hawkins showed few signs of retiring, even though he has spent 55 years in public office. Now we'll see if Washington can withstand the brash and tireless Waters, or if she can abide the back-bench status normally imposed on first-termers.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DISTRICT 30 (58% D - 31% R)

Martinez (D*)	**45,365**	**(58%)**
Franco (R)	28,845	(37%)
Feger (L)	3,704	(5%)

(63, 60) Marty Martinez has been aptly described as being "close to zero in activity or influence" in Congress. But with the support of the Waxman-Berman machine, he just won his fifth term in Washington. Now he's announced to run for Los Angeles County supervisor in a special election next year.

DISTRICT 31 (71% D - 20% R)

Dymally (D*)	**56,267**	**(67%)**
Sato (R)	27,540	(33%)

(71, 72) Dymally has 10 years in Congress, a stint in the Assembly and as a lieutenant governor. If voters are revolting against incumbents, the trend hasn't reached Compton, Bellflower, Gardena, Hawthorne and Lynwood.

DISTRICT 32 (55% D - 35% R)

Anderson (D*)	**68,115**	**(62%)**
Kahn (R)	42,569	(39%)

(69, 67) Sanford Kahn ran against Glen Anderson two years ago. He did a little better this time, but not nearly good enough.

DISTRICT 33 (42% D - 48% R)

Webb (D)	49,854	(31%)
Dreier (R*)	**101,102**	**(64%)**
Lightfoot (L)	7,817	(5%)

(72, 69) David Drier has somewhere between $1 million and $2 million in his campaign bank account. Certainly enough to launch a bid for the U.S. Senate in 1992.

DISTRICT 34 (61% D - 31% R)

Torres (D*)	**55,488**	**(61%)**
Eastman (R)	35,949	(39%)

(61, 63) Esteban Torres won his fifth term in Congress. That will give him a free ride if he decides to join the fray for Los Angeles County supervisor.

DISTRICT 35 (38% D - 52% R)

Norton (D)	66,074	(33%)
Lewis (R*)	**121,008**	**(61%)**
Johnson (L)	12,975	(7%)

(77, 70) Seven-term incumbent Jerry Lewis is another Republican whose name has come up as a possible U.S. Senate candidate. Even Lewis, one of the most influential Republicans in the House, saw 9 percentage points fall off his victory margin this year.

DISTRICT 36 (55% D - 37% R)

Brown (D*)	**71,598**	**(53%)**
Hammock (R)	64,284	(47%)

(57, 54) This was the year the Republicans were finally going to get George Brown. In their minds, this district in western Riverside and San Bernardino counties belongs to them. Republican registration has been gaining steadily, thanks to an influx of new residents from Los Angeles and Orange counties, and four-time Brown opponent John Paul Stark finally gave up the challenge in favor of popular San Bernardino County Supervisor Bob Hammock. But the wily old Brown hasn't served 13 terms in Congress for nothing. Even though he is generally regarded as more liberal than this working-class district, Brown has an unaffected manner and direct way of speaking that reaches voters. Combined with voter unhappiness with the economy and fears about war — both linked to President Bush — this wasn't much of a year for Republicans, who claim their Democratic opponents are too liberal for the job. Meanwhile, George Brown can hope reapportionment gives him a more secure district next time out.

DISTRICT 37 (42% D - 49% R)

Waite (D)	103,007	(45%)
McCandless (R*)	**114,538**	**(50%)**
Odom (AI)	6,403	(3%)
Flickinger (L)	6,096	(3%)

(64, 64) On television, the good guys always win. But on television, there's always a clearly recognizable bad guy to beat. Alas, things are never so clear-cut in politics. In that venue, even so good a guy as Pa Walton can't get elected if Pa's a Democrat and the district is too solidly Republican. Not that actor Ralph Waite didn't give it a try. His campaign held eight-year veteran Al McCandless, a former Riverside County supervisor, to less than 50 percent of the vote. Waite even received some support from the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, which came to his aid after polls showed few in the district had even heard of the low-key McCandless. Democrats tried to tie McCandless to the savings-and-loan scandal and say that he had grown "out of touch" with the voters in Riverside County, appealing particularly to the vast number of new residents who have migrated there from Orange and Los Angeles counties. But in the end, the Republican registration margin proved to be just too large to overcome. Maybe growth and new congressional district lines will create a new stage for actor Waite to play upon in two years.

DISTRICT 38 (48% D - 43% R)

Jackson (D)	43,677	(42%)
Dornan (R*)	**60,546**	**(58%)**

(55, 60) B-1 Bob Dornan would really like to be appointed by Pete Wilson to the U.S. Senate, but Wilson says he wants someone "compatible" with his views. That would seem to mean that Dornan will have to be content to represent this Orange County district a little longer.

DISTRICT 39 (33% D - 58% R)

Hoffman (D)	53,670	(31%)
Dannemeyer (R*)	**13,849**	**(65%)**
Quirk (P&F)	6,169	(4%)

(74, 74) Another Orange County Republican whose ambition outstrips the state's tolerance for the eccentric.

DISTRICT 40 (30% D - 59% R)

Gratz (D)	68,087	(32%)
Cox (R*)	**142,299**	**(68%)**

(67) A second term in Congress for Chris Cox, who scored an easy victory over attorney Eugene Gratz.

DISTRICT 41 (37% D - 49% R)

Kripke (D)	93,568	(44%)
Lowery (R*)	**105,664**	**(49%)**
Works (P&F)	15,423	(7%)

(68, 66) Ten-year incumbent Bill Lowery got a good scare on November 6th, staving off a determined campaign by psychiatrist

Lowery

Democrat Dan Kripke. Kripke was making this third campaign against Lowery, who finished the race with less than a majority of the votes cast in the district. This northern San Diego County district that includes Del Mar, La Jolla and Point Loma is normally very Republican. But four-term incumbent Bill Lowery received more campaign contributions from the scandal-ridden savings-and-loan industry than did any other member of the House, and Kripke hammered away at the issue. This part of the state proved very fractious on election day, ousting another congressman and two Assembly members, and nearly tossing out Lowery to boot. But he survived, although the close margin of the race may take him off the short list of possible appointees to the U.S. Senate.

DISTRICT 42 (36% D - 53% R)

Kimbrough (D)	67,117	(37%)
Rohrabacher (R*)	**109,243**	**(59%)**
Martin (L)	7,734	(4%)

(64) Dana Rohrabacher won his second term in Congress, beating Guy Kimbrough, the same man he beat two years ago.

DISTRICT 43 (30% D - 57% R)

Packard (R*)	**151,139**	**(68%)**
Arnold (L)	30,699	(14%)
Hansen (P&F)	40,186	(18%)

(72, 73) Eight-year congressional veteran Ron Packard actually got nearly 6 percent less of the vote this time than two years ago — and there wasn't even a Democrat on the ballot this year. Somebody out there doesn't like incumbents.

(Continued)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DISTRICT 44 (53% D - 35% R)

Bates (D*)	48,676	(45%)
Cunningham (R)	**50,335**	**(46%)**
Wallner (L)	4,382	(4%)
White (P&F)	5,231	(5%)

(64, 60) Until November, Jim Bates was the only Democratic member of Congress south of Los Angeles. Now there are none. Although representing voters in the south-

Bates

Cunningham

ern part of San Diego, Chula Vista, Lemon Grove and National City areas for 20 years as a council member, supervisor and (for the past eight years) member of Congress, Bates has had to spend the past two years trying to explain his reprimand by the House Ethics Committee for sexually harassing female members of his staff. He first had to deal with the charges in a hotly contested primary, which he managed to win by beating Byron Georgiou, a former member of Jerry Brown's administration. In the general election his opponent was Randy "Duke" Cunningham, a 48-year-old retired Navy fighter pilot who used to command the "enemy" air detachment at the Miramar Naval Air Station's "Top Gun" fighter school. Backed in part by nearby Republican Congressman Duncan Hunter, Cunningham took up where Georgiou left off. His positions on issues varied dramatically from Bates. Cunningham took a no-new-taxes pledge, is opposed to abortion rights for women in most cases and is opposed to the commercial use of the Miramar air station — a position backed by Bates. Bates believes he suffered from the long Washington budget session, telling one newspaper, "We look like clowns back here," and he clearly suffered from the anti-incumbent feelings among the electorate. But his real downfall was the ethics issue. Cunningham's television commercials featured a female Democrat criticizing Bates, reminding voters of the rebuke. The race was very tight, with less than 1000 votes separating the two on election day. But absentee ballots widened the margin in Cunningham's favor. Now Republicans dominate all of the congressional seats in the southern-most portion of the state — an area sure to gain additional seats after reapportionment.

DISTRICT 45 (37% D - 50% R)

Hunter (R*)	**123,408**	**(73%)**
Shea (L)	46,008	(27%)

(77, 74) Duncan Hunter is so secure in the district that he could spend much of his spare time engineering the defeat of Jim Bates.

Senate

DISTRICT 2 (56% D - 32% R)

Keene (D*)	**120,001**	**(54%)**
Handley (R)	102,715	(46%)

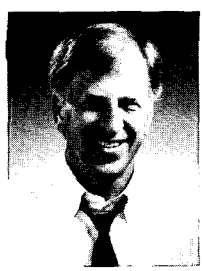
(59, 56) Republican Marge Handley provided incumbent Senate Majority Leader Barry Keene with all he could handle. Anti-incumbency was a factor, for the district overlaps much of the territory of the 1st Congressional District, where incumbent Democrat Doug Bosco was ousted by Republican Frank Riggs. Handley may have benefited from Riggs' efforts. Pouring tens of thousands of her own money into the campaign, Handley ran well ahead of GOP registration in two of the largest counties (Solano and Humboldt), while defeating Keene in the two smaller constituencies (Del Norte and Mendocino counties). In the end, Democrat-rich Sonoma County provided the incumbent with a comfortable 10,000-vote-plus margin that more than offset Handley's support elsewhere.

DISTRICT 4 (48% D - 41% R)

Thompson (D)	**120,630**	**(48%)**
Nielsen (R*)	117,179	(47%)
Hendricks (L)	8,986	(4%)
Sutley (P&F)	5,176	(2%)

(61, 64) According to his campaign consultant, Democrat Mike Thompson wore out

Nielsen



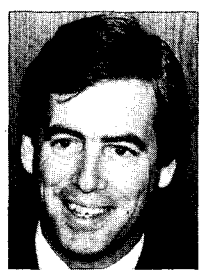
Thompson

three cars in his relentless effort to oust three-term GOP incumbent Jim Nielsen. Thompson, a former aide to Assemblywoman Jackie Speier, pounded Nielsen on his ethics' problems, on his support for a cross-Delta water transfer plan, and on his poor performance in behalf of district counties, like Butte, which are struggling with financial woes. Thompson gained endorsements from 13 of the 17 area newspapers, including the Oroville Mercury-Register, *which had never before endorsed a Democrat. Nielsen was hampered throughout the campaign by charges that he had been sued for fraud by a former business partner, that he has remained a paid consultant to a chemical company while casting votes affecting the agri-chemical business, and that he had referred to AIDS as heavenly punishment against gays. Nielsen tried to characterize Thompson as a liberal insider with strong ties to Assembly Speaker Willie Brown Jr. But Thompson assumed the politically correct stance on various initiatives to shed the "L" word, opposing Big Green and the nickel-a-drink tax — both strongly opposed in a district that is heavily agricultural and includes wine-producing counties like Napa and Sonoma. Unlike other districts around the state, neither candidate was particularly hurt by the presence of third-party candidates. Thompson has said he will serve no more than two terms — a vow made moot by the passage of Proposition 140.*

DISTRICT 5 (53% D - 37% R)

Carrillo (D)	9,201	(4%)
P.Garamendi (D)	54,158	(26%)
Giannecchini (D)	5,666	(3%)
Johnston (D)	**72,277**	**(35%)**
Brown (R)	5,236	(3%)
Dell'Orto (R)	9,864	(5%)
Holbrook (R)	11,452	(6%)
Wallace (R)	**18,636**	**(9%)**
Westofer (R)	15,279	(7%)
Tryon (L)	**7,373**	**(4%)**

In case you don't remember, the incumbent in this district, Democrat John Garamendi, was nominated last June as Democratic candidate for state insurance commission-



Johnston

er. Garamendi was so confident of victory in November that he resigned from the Senate on Labor Day even though he was not up for reelection and could have continued to serve had he lost as insurance commissioner. Thus, a special election was called to replace Garamendi, with that election to be held on the same day as the general election. The timing of Garamendi's resignation was designed to give maximum advantage to his hand-picked successor — his wife, Patti. It was also designed to give maximum discomfort to her most likely Democratic rival, incumbent Assemblyman Patrick Johnston, for it forced Johnston to run for the Senate in the same election that he sought reelection to the Assembly. Patti's campaign was launched a milli-second after John's resignation, with a well-conceived media effort that included polished television ads and glitzy brochures and miles upon miles of old-fashioned shoe leather. Garamendi's problem was clear from the outset: Overcome Johnston's advantage in that part of the district that overlaps his Assembly district, especially vote-rich San Joaquin County where more than half the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Power of Ideas in Managing Public Assets.

As a public treasurer, you face a complex and difficult asset management challenge. In addition to striving for optimum returns while staying within strict investment guidelines, you are now faced with a menu of financial instruments and investment options which is increasing rapidly. Combine that with market conditions which are as complex as they are volatile and the fact that the world's financial markets are now inexorably linked, and you have a situation demanding creativity as well as care. Fortunately, public treasurers do not have to meet this challenge alone.

First Boston Asset Management has the professionals and resources to help public clients take advantage of current investment management options. The same factors which have made managing public assets complicated create profit opportunities. We can help treasurers develop active asset management strategies to capitalize on these opportunities and earn greater returns than could be obtained by passive strategies.

We have a creative yet disciplined approach to the business of asset management. Innovation, trust, customer service and access to unparalleled global resources: the principles which guide our investment management business. These same principles have also earned First Boston its position as an investment banking leader for over 50 years.

At First Boston, we never forget that every public official who manages public assets is charged with delivering superior results under the constraints of both State statutes and conservative investment policies. The real power of our ideas is measured in your results.

The First Boston Corporation
101 California Street
San Francisco, CA 94111
(415) 765-7000

The First Boston Corporation
333 South Grand
Los Angeles, CA 90071
(213) 253-2000

First Boston Asset Management Corporation
Tower Forty-Nine
12 East 49th Street
New York, NY 10017
(212) 909-4406

First Ideas, Then Results.

FIRST BOSTON
A CS First Boston Company

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

district's registered Democrats live. Garamendi was better known in foothill and Sierra counties like Amador, Alpine, Calaveras, Tuolumne and Mono, but they offered precious few votes. To fuel her effort, she spent nearly $700,000, the lion's share from her own pocket; Johnston spent less than half that amount. But when it was finished, and the confetti had been swept away and the placards removed and the television ads but a dim memory, the resignation ploys and the money and the glitzy brochures and the personal energy were not enough. Johnston piled up a 20,000-vote margin in San Joaquin. He also captured Yolo and Calaveras counties. Garamendi took the other small counties, as well as the chunk of Sacramento County that sits in this district. Johnston won what amounts to the Democratic nomination, since he did not get more than the 50 percent needed to prevent a run-off. He now must face Republican Phillip Wallace and Libertarian Tom Tryon on January 8th. Given Johnston's solid credentials as an lawmaker, the area's Democratic registration edge, and Wallace's probable inability to raise substantial campaign funds, Johnston must be considered a solid favorite to replace John Garamendi. Patti Garamendi must be content to play the political wife once again, with hopes that the new reapportionment provides her with a district more to her liking.

DISTRICT 6 (56% D - 35% R)

L.Greene (D*)	**125,595**	**(54%)**
Sullivan (R)	94,576	(40%)
Murray (L)	13,733	(6%)

(53, 61) Not Leroy Greene's toughest reelection campaign.

DISTRICT 8 (63% D - 22% R)

Kopp (I*)	**116,678**	**(73%)**
Fitzgerald (D)	29,172	(18%)
Silvestri (R)	14,865	(9%)

(47) The first time Quentin Kopp ran for this seat, in 1986, he won with less than 50 percent of the vote in a hard-fought battle with former Democratic Assemblyman Lou Papan. With no one of Papan's vote-getting ability on the ballot, Independent Kopp cruised to his first reelection.

DISTRICT 10 (55% D - 32% R)

Lockyer (D*)	**110,822**	**(61%)**
Hertz (R)	72,047	(39%)

(58, 71) Bill Lockyer's toughest fight of 1990 occurred in a Capitol hallway where he engaged in an August shoving match with a Sacramento lobbyist.

DISTRICT 12 (53% D - 36% R)

McCor'dale (D*)	**106,552**	**(59%)**
Kennedy (R)	73,651	(41%)

(49, 56) Milpitas businesswoman Lori Kennedy was so stunned by her primary victory that she didn't have a clue how she would conduct the general election campaign against two-term incumbent Dan McCorquodale. McCorquodale was embarrassed early in the campaign by newspaper revelations that he had accepted a free trip to Brazil on a tour arranged by a legislative aide. The incumbent's trip was free because he served as the "drawing card" to induce others to make the trip. Republicans couldn't make anything out of this revelation, however, and McCorquodale coasted to his easiest victory to date.

DISTRICT 14 (49% D - 40% R)

Maddy (R*)	**134,886**	**(100%)**

(100, 69) Senate Minority Leader Ken Maddy's name has been mentioned as a possible successor to Governor-elect Pete Wilson in the U.S. Senate. He was a vigorous opponent of term limits and may find a stint in Washington more to his liking now that Proposition 140 has passed.

DISTRICT 16 (50% D - 41% R)

Gonzales (D)	70,633	(44%)
Rogers (R*)	**82,694**	**(52%)**
Saurenman (L)	6,337	(4%)

(52) Another tough race for incumbent Don Rogers, this time against former Assemblyman Ray Gonzales. Gonzales won convincingly in the district's second largest county, a chunk of Los Angeles. Unfortunately for the Democrat, the largest county, Kern,

Advertisement

Why you should hire Stoorzal, Zeegow and Metzgus. Or Steezus, Ziggy and Metzgal. Or whatever.

Our name isn't the easiest to remember or spell. But that's OK, because at Stoorza, Ziegaus & Metzger, Inc. we're more concerned with people remembering *your* name than ours.

Our four California offices make top-quality service convenient and effective – the reason we're the largest independent public relations firm on the West Coast, and the 20th largest overall in the nation.

Our client list includes Fortune 500 companies, winning campaigns, Sacramento's leading trade associations, and many names you'd recognize immediately.

STOORZA
ZIEGAUS
METZGER

In Sacramento, call 446-6667 and we'll tell you how to say "Stoorza, Ziegaus & Metzger." At the same time, you'll see why we have a pronounced advantage over our competition.

Public Relations / Marketing Communications / Governmental Affairs
801 Twelfth Street, Suite 250 • Sacramento, California 95814
(916) 446-6667 • FAX: (916) 446-0674

Sacramento **Los Angeles** **San Diego** **Inland Empire**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

contains five times as many voters and gave a 13,000-vote plurality to Rogers. Rogers also won in Kings and San Bernardino counties.

DISTRICT 18 (46% D - 40% R)

Hart (D*)	**111,261**	**(60%)**
Rogers (R)	65,329	(35%)
Wood (L)	7,776	(4%)

(51, 65) Incumbent Gary Hart ran 15 percent ahead of registration as he coasted to his third term in the Senate.

DISTRICT 20 (57% D - 33% R)

Robbins (D*)	**73,426**	**(58%)**
Podegracz (R)	42,994	(34%)
Mirken (L)	9,549	(8%)

(52, 65) The Sacramento political corruption trial of former Senator Paul Carpenter posed a few more questions regarding Alan Robbins' ethics. As did an FBI raid on Robbins' Los Angeles home a week after the election. Carpenter was convicted. Robbins was reelected. Of course, Carpenter was reelected, too.

DISTRICT 22 (58% D - 31% R)

Rosenthal (D*)	**129,505**	**(65%)**
Schrager (R)	61,992	(31%)
Hinds (P&F)	8,933	(5%)

(64, 68) Hershel went and was victorious. He'll be sworn in for his third term in the Senate.

DISTRICT 24 (66% D - 23% R)

Torres (D*)	**39,547**	**(69%)**
Marsh (R)	14,121	(25%)
Wilsor (L	3,674	(6%)

(72, 65) Now that Art Torres' third Senate term is safely in the bag, the 44-year-old legislator has set his sights on another job — Los Angeles County supervisor. Less than a week after his reelection, Torres announced his candidacy for a newly created "Latino" seat on the board of supes, with the election to be held next year. Latino leaders attempted to find a compromise candidate to stave off total war, but Congressman Ed Roybal reportedly turned it down. Thus, Torres took the plunge. He'll be joined in battle by a slate of wanna-bes, including Los Angeles City Councilwoman Gloria Molina, Congressman Marty Martinez and state Senator Charles Calderon.

Calderon

Torres

DISTRICT 26 (60% D - 30% R)

Calderon (D*)	**60,675**	**(63%)**
Urquidi (R)	30,926	(32%)
Goldsworthy (L)	5,045	(5%)

Chuck Calderon won a full four-year term after capturing a special election to fill out the term of former Senator Joe Montoya earlier this year. He may not stay long, however (see District 24).

DISTRICT 28 (73% D - 18% R)

Watson (D*)	**102,314**	**(85%)**
Kasimoff (P&F)	17,797	(15%)

(75, 79) Diane Watson won her fourth term in the upper house.

DISTRICT 30 (66% D - 24% R)

Dills (D*)	**63,652**	**(68%)**
Poling (R)	29,552	(32%)

(71, 72) Voter-imposed term limits will end Ralph Dills' Senate career in 1998. He will be 88 years old and has been a legislator, off and on, since 1938. If Proposition 140 is ultimately voided by the courts, there is no reason to assume his career won't extend into the next century.

DISTRICT 32 (42% D - 48% R)

Becktell (D)	51,086	(39%)
Royce (R*)	**80,788**	**(61%)**

(54, 66) An Orange County district that wasn't much in the mood to punish this incumbent.

DISTRICT 34 (52% D - 40% R)

Ayala (D*)	**80,072**	**(52%)**
Bader (R)	74,655	(48%)

(67, 66) A monstrously expensive race that pitted incumbent legislators against each other in what was the first salvo in an ongoing struggle over super-growth San Bernardino County. Republican challenger Chuck Bader, a member of the Assembly, spent over $1 million trying to wrest this seat from Democratic incumbent Ruben

Ayala

Bader

Ayala; Ayala spent about $800,000 and had tough election wizard Larry Sheingold in his corner as consultant. Republicans were encouraged to try to unseat an entrenched incumbent because of a 14-point voter-registration swing in their favor during the 1980s. In taking his case to the people, Bader campaigned on the premise that Ayala had been around too long and that the district needed a fresh face to represent its interests in the Senate. The 68-year-old Ayala was first elected to the upper house in 1974 after a long stint on the San Bernardino County Board of Supervisors. But Bader was perhaps the wrong candidate to carry this message. After all, Bader himself had served in Sacramento since 1982. In an electoral sense, there was nothing "fresh" about him. Politically, both men are moderates. Bader staked out a position to the right by calling attention to Ayala's vote to ban assault rifles. In the end, Ayala ran dead even with Democratic registration; Bader, it appears, picked up the lion's share of neutrals. The Democratic challenge now is to draw themselves a stronger district in the next reapportionment.

DISTRICT 36 (46% D - 45% R)

Presley (D*)	**111,561**	**(54%)**
Haynes (R)	96,654	(46%)

(100, 61) Eight years ago, when Bob Presley ran unopposed, this was only a 38 percent GOP district. But Republicans have been moving into Riverside County at an alarming rate for Democrats, and once Sheriff Bob decides to retire, or term-limits send him packing in 1998, the district should fall to the GOP.

DISTRICT 38 (32% D - 53% R)

Craven (R*)	**171,082**	**(67%)**
Olmsted (L)	38,548	(15%)
Evans (P&F)	46,618	(18%)

(60, 85) San Diegans strike again. Although they returned Bill Craven to Sacramento for his fourth term in the Senate, 34 percent of them opted for minority party candidates rather than vote for an incumbent with no

Craven

discernible blemishes on his public record. Craven was unopposed by any Democrat yet polled only two-thirds of the vote.

DISTRICT 40 (51% D - 36% R)

Deddeh (D*)	**72,714**	**(55%)**
Watson (R)	47,021	(37%)
Moths (L)	3,986	(3%)
Batchelder (P&F)	4,680	(4%)

(74, 69) Another San Diego incumbent cuffed around a bit by the electorate. Waddie Deddeh, who has represented this area in either the Assembly or Senate since 1966, suffered from an area-wide anti-incumbent campaign fueled in part by former mayor-cum-talk-show host Roger Hedgecock.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ASSEMBLY

DISTRICT 1 (46% D - 42% R)

Caudle (D)	50,574	(43%)
Statham (R*)	**66,681**	**(57%)**

(70, 71) One need look no further for an anti-incumbent sentiment than Arlie Caudle's third bid to unseat seven-term incumbent Stan Statham. In his two previous attempts, Caudle gained but 29 and 30 percent of the vote. This time he snared over 43 percent.

DISTRICT 2 (57% D - 31% R)

Hauser (D*)	**65,923**	**(55%)**
Willis (R)	37,618	(32%)
Anderson (P&F)	15,973	(13%)

(68, 75) Four-term incumbent Dan Hauser won all four counties in this diverse, fractious district, but his vote totals were lowered by the presence of Peace and Freedom candidate Bruce Anderson, outspoken editor and publisher of the Anderson Valley Advertiser. *Anderson ran especially well in Mendocino and Sonoma counties, gathering nearly three-quarters of his vote total in those two areas.*

DISTRICT 3 (43% D - 45% R)

Hatamiya (D)	54,349	(46%)
Chandler (R*)	**63,826**	**(54%)**

(57, 60) Democrat Lon Hatamiya, a farmer-attorney, ran a strong campaign against two-termer Chris Chandler; strong enough to position himself for another Assembly try in 1992, depending on how the new district lines are drawn. Overall, Hatamiya ran three points ahead of Democratic registration and even captured the district's most populous county — Butte — where registration is evenly divided between Democrats and the GOP and where locals are furious with Sacramento's response to their shaky financial status. They were particularly unhappy with Chandler, who fumbled his chance to help the county. Hatamiya, who received political help and financing from the Asian community statewide, also won tiny Sierra County. Chandler's victory was assured, however, when he brought in a 10,000-vote margin from Nevada and Sutter counties.

DISTRICT 4 (55% D - 32% R)

Hannigan (D*)	**61,625**	**(58%)**
Ford (R)	37,995	(36%)
Presley (L)	6,974	(7%)

(75, 67) Even so strong a political force as Assembly Majority Leader Tom Hannigan saw his percent of the vote plummet nearly 10 points. Hannigan returns for his seventh term.

DISTRICT 5 (46% D - 44% R)

Buonaiuto (D)	49,490	(38%)
Leslie (R*)	**82,375**	**(63%)**

(58, 59) Republican Tim Leslie was one incumbent who actually increased his share of the vote in 1990. Leslie's campaign fund bulged with $400,000, while his opponent, utility board official Joe Buonaiuto, raised only chump change — $21,000. Then there was the opponent himself. Buonaiuto ran a campaign that was mostly a media circus, starting off just before Labor Day when he released the contents of a message on his phone machine: Seems an aide to GOP Assemblyman Chris Chandler offered to provide Buonaiuto with campaign fodder to use against Leslie. But for all his colorful language and bravado, Buonaiuto never

Buonauito

Leslie

had enough resources and never was able to convince voters that Leslie was anything but a hard worker. Leslie now returns for his third term, while his opponent insists he'll be back again in '92.

DISTRICT 6 (56% D - 35% R)

Connelly (D)*	**61,237**	**(58%)**
Marsh (R)	38,859	(37%)
Engelhardt (L)	5,545	(5%)

(67, 61) This could be Lloyd Connelly's last run for the Assembly since he will probably run for Congress when area Democrat Bob Matsui carries through with plans to run for the U.S. Senate in 1992.

DISTRICT 7 (49% D - 41% R)

N.Waters (D*)	77,672	(49%)
Knowles (R)	**81,991**	**(51%)**

(67, 50) Well, money ain't everything. Despite being outspent nearly four-to-one, conservative Republican David Knowles finally succeeded in his four-year quest to oust moderate Democratic incumbent Norm Waters. Two years ago Knowles lost by a mere 1400 votes despite spending nearly $700,000. This time, the 38-year-old Knowles won despite raising barely over $100,000 and being virtually abandoned by the Assembly GOP leadership several weeks before the election. As reported in the Sacramento Union, *Knowles was helped late in the campaign by that old conservative warhorse — former Senator H.L. Richardson and his Gun Owners of California. Richardson poured money and resources into the campaign, which was also aided by anti-abortion groups. Waters, 65, may also have been hurt by the persistence of his primary opponent, Democrat Chris Carrillo, who stayed in the race as a write-in candi-*

Knowles

Waters

date. Carrillo siphoned off votes. The two main candidates ran close in each of the district's seven counties, although Knowles' 2500-vote victory in El Dorado County provided the bulk of his 3147-vote margin. He also scored well in Placer County, while Waters' biggest margin of victory came in that corner of Sacramento County which juts into the 7th District. In the end, Waters may have been hurt more than most incumbents by voter preference for someone new.

DISTRICT 8 (52% D - 38% R)

Hansen (R*)	**87,877**	**(76%)**
Roberts (L)	27,445	(24%)

(63, 64) Sure, Bev Hansen nabbed 76 percent of the vote. But she had no major party opponent. Libertarian Eric Roberts chewed off nearly a quarter of the vote. Over 27,000 voters in this wine-area district said "nix" to the incumbent.

DISTRICT 9 (53% D - 33% R)

Bronshvag (D)	51,456	(43%)
Filante (R*)	**62,112**	**(51%)**
Bright (L)	4,582	(4%)
Persily (P&F)	2,837	(2%)

(55, 56) Bill Filante has now won seven Assembly elections in a district that could reasonably be won by a Democrat. As a result, Filante always seems vulnerable. But he always manages to slip through, mostly because he runs so well in Democrat-heavy Marin County. He won it this time by 9000 votes despite a 52-34 registration edge for Democrats in Marin. Bronshvag ran much better in Sonoma County.

DISTRICT 10 (56% D - 35% R)

Isenberg (D*)	**68,446**	**(56%)**
Griffin (R)	46,838	(38%)
Rufer (L)	6,796	(6%)

(67, 57) This race must be something of an embarrassment for Phil Isenberg, the former mayor of Sacramento who earned his fifth term in the Assembly. He ran virtually unopposed after Republican Tom Griffin withdrew in mid-September yet polled only 56 percent of the vote. Griffin, who did not campaign at all, even won GOP-leaning San Joaquin County.

DISTRICT 11 (64% D - 25% R)

B.Campbell (D*)	**72,330**	**(100%)**

(75, 73) Bob Campbell has a few Democrats to spare, and he may be asked to give some of them up in the next reapportionment to make neighboring districts more attractive for Democratic candidates.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DISTRICT 12 (63% D - 23% R)

Bates (D*)	**82,308**	**(68%)**
Gear (R)	31,701	(26%)
Feinland (P&F)	7,555	(6%)

(72, 74) Tom Bates mooshed Jonathan Gear and now returns for his eighth tour of duty in Sacramento.

DISTRICT 13 (72% D - 15% R)

Lee (D)	**52,577**	**(79%)**
Thomas (R)	13,617	(21%)

This race was decided in the primary where Barbara Lee bested Aleta Cannon. Lee, veteran staffer for the area's popular Con-

Lee

gressman Ron Dellums, was favored by the Assembly Democrats' power structure, and that was enough for the primary. She will succeed incumbent Elihu Harris who has been elected mayor of Oakland.

DISTRICT 14 (63% D - 25% R)

Klehs (D*)	**53,190**	**(66%)**
Grundman (R)	21,079	(26%)
Nygren (L)	6,101	(8%)

(874, 73) An East Bay Democratic stronghold that includes San Leandro and Hayward.

DISTRICT 15 (37% D - 51% R)

Williams (D)	61,387	(45%)
Baker (R*)	75,199	(55%)

(67, 68) Bill Baker has cakewalked to victory in most of his five elections for the As-

Baker

sembly. But this time around, he stumbled as opponent Wendell Williams made election night a tad uncomfortable for Baker. Williams, a moderate who ran nearly 9 percent ahead of Democratic registration, even came within 300 votes of winning the Alameda County portion of this district (out of 37,000 votes cast) — and that's the Republican part of Alameda County. Although short of money Williams managed to exploit Baker's attitudes toward women. The incumbent is on record as saying women ought to stay out of politics and in the kitchen. He is also stridently anti-abortion and has publicly said that women should not control their own bodies if they are pregnant. Throughout the campaign, Williams referred to Baker as "the Jesse Helms of California," a message that stuck with those Republican women who heard it. But the challenger never had enough money to reach enough voters. Buoyed by his strong showing, Williams has said he will run against Baker in 1992. He could be helped if the next reapportionment adds a few more Democrats from neighboring districts.

DISTRICT 16 (69% D - 15% R)

Burton (D*)	**57,524**	**(100%)**

(78) "Bee-bop-uh-loo-uh ... uh be my-uh ba-by ... bee-bop-uh-loo-uh ... uh be my-uh ba-by ..."

DISTRICT 17 (63% D - 20% R)

W.Brown (D*)	**62,921**	**(64%)**
Faulkner (R)	26,530	(27%)
Whisman (L)	8,532	(9%)

(71, 72) Even the speaker's percentage of the vote took a dive in 1990. But, hey, you win some, you lose some. And on election night, the speaker won a few and lost big. On the winning side, Brown and his cohorts managed to defeat a moderate term-limit initiative — Proposition 131. Also, Democrats picked up three Assembly districts previously held by the GOP: the 72nd, where Republican Curt Pringle was target number one; the 78th, which had been lost briefly last year after former incumbent Democrat Lucy Killea moved on to the Senate; and an almost accidental victory in the 75th where Dede Alpert upset incumbent Republican Sunny Mojonnier. Democrats also staved off strong challenges to incumbents Dom Cortese, Steve Clute, Peter Chacon, Ted Lempert, Sal Cannella and Bob Epple. They lost only one seat — Norm Waters, in the 7th. But all that good news proved ephemeral, for Brown lost the most crucial election of the night — his $6 million dollar effort to defeat another, far-more-draconian term-limit measure, Proposition 140. Brown and his Senate counterpart, David Roberti, were totally distracted by the anti-term-limit campaign — to the detriment, perhaps, of other legislative races and of Dianne Feinstein's failed gubernatorial bid. Democrats will undoubtedly challenge Proposition 140 in court, and the outcome of that challenge will chart the course of Willie Brown's political future. Should the measure — and its three-term limit — be upheld, Brown has said he will leave the Assembly, perhaps as early as 1992, thus ending an often-raucous, ever-entertaining 28-year political career. "The poohbahs rise and hold their poohbah sway till their use is over and other poohbahs hitherto unheard of step into their shoes and sit at the big tables and have their say-so till events order the gong for them ..." (Carl Sandburg, "The People, Yes").

DISTRICT 18 (54% D - 32% R)

Eastin (D*)	**65,359**	**(100%)**

(57, 67) An argument against term limits.

DISTRICT 19 (60% D - 26% R)

Speier (D*)	**53,182**	**(100%)**

(74, 77) Another baby thrown out with the bath water.

DISTRICT 20 (46% D - 42% R)

Lempert (D*)	**71,029**	**(63%)**
Rinehart (R)	36,119	(32%)
Sigmund (AI)	2,152	(2%)
Inama (L)	3,079	(3%)

(52) Yes, Virginia, voters do reward performance. Ted Lempert was targeted for defeat by Assembly Republicans, but San Mateo County voters responded positively to Lempert's solid freshman term in Sacramento. Lempert, who upset GOP incumbent Bill Duplissea in 1988, built a strong reputation for hard work and thoughtfulness as author of the Assembly's ethics package and major oil-spill legislation. Trade consultant James Rinehart of Menlo Park had the backing of the area's popular Republican incumbents — state Senator Becky Morgan and Congressman Tom Campbell. He also was endorsed by former area GOP Congressman Pete McCloskey, who had endorsed Lempert in the past. Governor Deukmejian appeared at a mid-September fund-raiser which pushed Reinhart's warchest into the six-figure category. In the end, however, voters could not be persuaded to toss out Lempert merely because he is a Democrat.

DISTRICT 21 (53% D - 32% R)

Sher (D*)	**62,392**	**(71%)**
Garris (R)	25,656	(29%)

(70, 88) Sher was unopposed by a major party candidate in 1988.

DISTRICT 22 (41% D - 46% R)

Levy (D)	38,177	(35%)
Quackenbush (R*)	**65,022**	**(59%)**
Petersen (L)	6,917	(6%)

(55, 63) Quackenbush returns to Sacramento for his third term.

DISTRICT 23 (59% D - 29% R)

Vasconcellos (D*)	**43,275**	**(63%)**
Valladares (R)	25,754	(37%)

(68, 66) In 1996 John Vasconcellos will be 64 years old. For the past 24 years, his life has been dedicated to serving in the California Assembly. The Assembly is his family. In San Jose, he rents a room in someone else's house. If term limits stick, where will he go? What will he do?

DISTRICT 24 (53% D - 35% R)

Cortese (D*)	**48,241**	**(56%)**
Granada (R)	32,708	(38%)
Sommer (L)	4,934	(6%)

(64, 54) In baseball, sometimes your team hits but the pitching fails. The next night, the pitching is strong but the hitting disappears. You win by putting both halves to-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gether in the same game. So, too, in politics. Two years ago Republicans spent nearly $700,000 trying to dynamite Dom Cortese out of a seat he had held for four terms. Back then they had plenty of money but no issue to damage Cortese. This time, they had a terrific issue but no money. Republican activist Ron Granada hammered at Cortese's ethics after the incumbent was arraigned in September on misdemeanor charges of accepting an illegal gift — a house-painting job — from lobbyist Carl Burg. Burg pled "no contest" for his part in the deal and was sentenced to three years' probation, 100 hours of community service and a $2000 fine. Granada, however, was hampered by a lack of funds and couldn't get the message out to enough people.

DISTRICT 25 (52% D - 36% R)

Areias (D*)	**51,445**	**(63%)**
Gilmore (R)	25,992	(32%)
Hinkle (L)	3,870	(5%)

(71, 75) After three tries, Republican Ben Gilmore finally cut Rusty Areias' percentage of the vote below 70 percent. To win, however, he needs to cut it below 50 percent.

DISTRICT 26 (56% D - 35% R)

Johnston (D*)	**58,729**	**(67%)**
Keaster (R)	26,875	(31%)
Klohs (L)	2,438	(3%)

(74, 72) This election was rendered meaningless when five-term incumbent Pat Johnston defeated Patti Garamendi in a special 5th Senate District election to replace Garamendi's husband, John, who has become the state's first elected insurance commissioner. Johnston will probably win a January run-off in that district and move over to the Senate, creating a vacancy in this district, to be filled in a special election held sometime next year, which may create a special election in some council or supervisorial district to be filled in a special ...

DISTRICT 27 (54% D - 37% R)

Cannella (D*)	**49,111**	**(50%)**
Lang (R)	43,694	(44%)
Shimp (L)	5,608	(6%)

(54) The bulk of voters in this district live in Stanislaus County, which gave Sal Cannella most of his 4821-vote margin of victory.

DISTRICT 28 (55% D - 31% R)

Farr (D*)	**72,237**	**(72%)**
Walker (R)	28,211	(28%)

(72, 71) And then there are those incumbents who are so respected by their neighbors and constituents that anti-incumbent sentiments just never affect them. Sam Farr returns to Sacramento for his sixth term.

DISTRICT 29 (39% D - 48% R)

Lybarger (D)	37,876	(35%)
A.Seastrand (R)	**70,260**	**(65%)**

Andrea Seastrand replaces her late husband, Eric — a four-term incumbent who lost his battle with cancer only weeks after being renominated in the June 1990 primary.

DISTRICT 30 (59% D - 32% R)

Costa (D*)	**39,415**	**(63%)**
Hurt (R)	22,793	(37%)

(67, 72) Jim Costa won two-to-one in Fresno and Merced counties, but the vote split 60-40 in Kings and Madera counties. Costa returns for his seventh term.

DISTRICT 31 (56% D - 36% R)

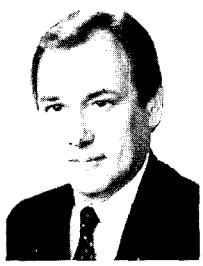
Bronzan (D*)	**54,973**	**(100%)**

(70, 71) Given that the term-limit initiative passed, and given that a portion of his Assembly district overlaps the 17th Congressional District, does Bruce Bronzan wish that he and not Cal Dooley had challenged incumbent Republican Congressman Chip Pashayan?

DISTRICT 32 (43% D - 48% R)

McGoldrick (D)	32,455	(31%)
Jones (R*)	**71,593**	**(69%)**

(100, 73) Two days after Bill Jones won his



Jones

fifth Assembly term, he challenged fellow Republican Ross Johnson for Johnson's post as Assembly minority leader. Jones rounded up nine votes of support; he needed 16. He promised to try again.

DISTRICT 33 (49% D - 42% R)

Harvey (R*)	**53,972**	**(100%)**

(51, 67) Was there a little fall-off in voter attention in Kern and Tulare counties this year? In 1988 nearly 86,000 people voted in the 33rd District race between Harvey and his Democrat opponent. This time, only 54,000 voted to send Harvey back for a third term. Granted, 1988 was a presidential election year. And granted, Harvey was engaged in a contested race two years ago. But, really.

DISTRICT 34 (40% D - 50% R)

Wyman (R*)	**80,154**	**(76%)**
Tisbert (L)	25,273	(24%)

(70, 69) Like elsewhere, a quarter of this district's voters sought some alternative to an incumbent. Wyman returns for his seventh term.

DISTRICT 35 (49% D - 37% R)

O'Connell (D*)	**59,873**	**(67%)**
O'Shaughnessy (R)	29,559	(33%)

(66, 93) O'Connell was both the Republican and Democratic nominee in 1988. His personal popularity keeps this seat in Democratic hands despite marginal voter-registration numbers.

DISTRICT 36 (37% D - 51% R)

Connell (D)	40,356	(36%)
McClintock (R*)	**66,081**	**(59%)**
Harner (L)	6,371	(6%)

(73, 70) The noise you heard was the sound of Ventura County voters sending incumbent Tom McClintock a message before returning him to Sacramento for his fifth term. McClintock, who spent most of the 1990 legislative session waging guerilla warfare against Assembly leaders from both parties, wants to privatize everything from prisons to streetlights. Not all his constituents were amused by his antics as his share of the vote fell 12 points off his 1988 pace.

DISTRICT 37 (36% D - 53% R)

Petrie (D)	44,687	(39%)
Wright (R*)	**62,709**	**(55%)**
Spooner (L)	7,335	(6%)

(75, 73) Another incumbent Republican whose victory margin fell substantially below her previous reelection efforts. Wright had been roughed up in the primary by Hunt Braly, former chief aide to state Senator Ed Davis, and was forced to spend nearly $500,000 to beat back his challenge. That left her vulnerable, and she barely beat GOP registration. Wright, seeking her sixth term, was hurt by charges that she used her influence to try and ease punishment meted out to her daughter over a bad driving record.

DISTRICT 38 (42% D - 48% R)

Allert (D)	41,466	(44%)
Boland (R)	**50,353**	**(53%)**
Najbergier (P&F)	3,262	(4%)

Incumbent Republican Marian LaFollette,

Boland

who is retiring, usually racked up 65 percent of the vote in her march toward reelection, but realtor Paula Boland didn't run nearly so well in a solidly Republican district. Boland had spent $100,000 winning a tough, contested primary against four other candidates; among them LaFollette's 24-year-old administrative assistant, Robert Wilcox. In that race, Boland was assisted by Los Angeles County supervisors Deane Dana and Mike Antonovich. Given her strong showing in the primary, most observers thought Boland would stroll through the general election. But somewhere between June and November, some voters soured on Boland, for her share of the November vote was only 10 percent

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

higher than her share in the primary, which she had to split with four other Republicans. Democrat Irene Allert, meanwhile, ran a credible campaign that saw her beat Democratic registration in the district.

DISTRICT 39 (57% D - 34% R)

Katz (D*)	**37,697**	**(68%)**
Ceravolo (R)	18,068	(32%)

(60, 73) Richard Katz will return for his sixth term. One cannot imagine him sitting around the Assembly for three more terms, waiting for Proposition 140 to terminate his career.

DISTRICT 40 (56% D - 34% R)

Bane (D*)	**47,045**	**(66%)**
Gabriel (R)	20,019	(28%)
Vernon (L)	4,384	(6%)

(73, 73) Tom Bane begins his 13th term in the Assembly.

DISTRICT 41 (40% D - 50% R)

Mann (D)	34,137	(38%)
Nolan (R*)	**50,578**	**(56%)**
Helms (L)	3,128	(4%)
Velasquez (P&F)	1,929	(2%)

(67, 58) Pat Nolan's share of the vote has been eroding steadily since 1986. Nolan, the former minority leader, is still sweating over potential legal problems in Sacramento due to the ongoing FBI sting investigation.

DISTRICT 42 (39% D - 51% R)

Fierro (D)	32,522	(39%)
Mountjoy (R*)	**48,755**	**(58%)**
Fritschler (L)	2,970	(4%)

(100, 71) Richard Mountjoy is one of the handful of Republican legislators who endorsed Proposition 140 — the initiative that will limit Assembly members to three terms. Mountjoy has already served six terms. Does this mean he thinks he's served long enough? Forty three percent of his constituents thought so, too.

DISTRICT 43 (55% D - 35% R)

Friedman (D*)	**61,554**	**(61%)**
Passi (R)	33,276	(33%)
Rotter (L)	2,684	(3%)
Lindblad (P&F)	4,303	(4%)

(60, 62) A consistent vote-getter, Terry Friedman begins his third term.

DISTRICT 44 (59% D - 29% R)

Hayden (D*)	**58,173**	**(56%)**
Beteta (R)	39,684	(38%)
Donner (L)	3,717	(4%)
Burdick (P&F)	1,965	(2%)

(59, 61) Tom Hayden has tried very hard over the past eight years to shed his image as a '60ish 'left-wing radical. If Hayden is to have a political future beyond the Assembly, it is essential that he do so. But the election of 1990 proved that Hayden may never escape the shadows of his past, even if he is no longer married to Jane Fonda. Hayden was one of the sponsors of Proposition 128, the "Big Green" environmental initiative. He was not the primary sponsor, but his name was attached to it. And that name was all Big Green's opponents needed to terrify the electorate. From the outset of the campaign, Hayden became a bogeyman. Big Green was labeled "the Hayden initiative," and opponents ballyhooed that the primary purpose of the measure was not to clean up California's environment but to provide Hayden with a vehicle for political advancement as the state's elected environmental advocate. The fact that Big Green lost so convincingly can be blamed, in part, on Hayden's association with it. And that must be disheartening news for a man who very much wants to play a major role on the national political stage and who spent the decade of the 1980s laying the groundwork for it. Whatever illusion Hayden maintained that he could outlive his radical reputation must now be just so much shattered dream.

DISTRICT 45 (59% D - 28% R)

Margolin (D*)	**50,349**	**(65%)**
Michael (R)	22,399	(29%)
Staley (P&F)	4,503	(6%)

(68, 69) Burt Margolin returns for his fifth term.

DISTRICT 46 (58% D - 28% R)

Roos (D*)	**20,396**	**(68%)**
Church (R)	7,362	(25%)
Everling (L)	865	(3%)
Robrish (P&F)	1,367	(5%)

(71, 68) Vote totals in this district continue to be staggeringly low.

DISTRICT 47 (81% D - 12% R)

Hughes (D*)	**13,830**	**(100%)**

(89, 95) For the second election in a row, Teresa Hughes has not had a major party opponent.

DISTRICT 48 (83% D - 10% R)

Archie-Hudson (D)	**25,453**	**(79%)**
Salazar (R)	4,919	(15%)
Castaneda (L)	1,719	(5%)

Marguerte Archie-Hudson steps into some

Archie-Hudson

huge shoes — those of Maxine Waters, who was elected to the House of Representatives.

DISTRICT 49 (73% D - 18% R)

Moore (D*)	**54,352**	**(73%)**
Givens (R)	16,364	(22%)
Rogers (L)	1,741	(2%)
Miles (P&F)	2,124	(3%)

(78, 77) Gwen Moore's constituents didn't believe she was involved in the now-infamous "shrimpscam" case, even though she carried the FBI-sponsored bill that served as the centerpiece of the investigation. Neither did the authorities who announced, just before the election, that Moore had been cleared of any wrongdoing. Two of her former aides, however, were indicted.

DISTRICT 50 (77% D - 16% R)

Tucker (D*)	**44,142**	**(85%)**
Long (P&F)	8,013	(15%)

Curtis Tucker Jr. handily wins his first full term from a district formerly represented by his late father.

DISTRICT 51 (37% D - 52% R)

Landau (D)	38,930	(38%)
Felando (R*)	**60,484**	**(58%)**
Gaillard (L)	4,283	(4%)

(69, 62) Gerry Felando will begin his seventh term.

DISTRICT 52 (42% D - 48% R)

Neely (D)	31,526	(41%)
Horcher (R)	**45,179**	**(59%)**

A mixed-up election in which the Democrat, Gary Neely, was endorsed by the usually Republican Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association. Neely ran a vigorous race but just managed to equal the district's Democratic registration. Horcher survived a raucous

Horcher

Republican primary, after which several of his GOP opponents failed to endorse him and one even threatened to run a write-in campaign against him. Horcher wasn't, they claimed, conservative enough. Voters disagreed, and Horcher now succeeds Frank Hill who was elected to the state Senate earlier this year.

DISTRICT 53 (59% D - 30% R)

Floyd (D*)	**35,377**	**(60%)**
Davis (R)	23,324	(40%)

(53, 59) Dick Floyd keeps gaining strength at the ballot box. But then, this year nobody mailed out a last-minute, anti-Floyd hit piece bearing Ronald Reagan's forged signature.

DISTRICT 54 (64% D - 28% R)

Murray (D*)	**29,905**	**(50%)**
Hart-Holifield (R)	24,606	(41%)
Olivier (L)	3,508	(6%)
Lynn (P&F)	1,762	(3%)

(52) For the second election in a row,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Willard Murray ran more than 10 points behind Democratic registration. Republican Emily Hart-Holifield, a Black educator, ran 13 points ahead of GOP registration.

DISTRICT 55 (66% D - 23% R)

Polanco (D*)	**20,802**	**(78%)**
Olvera (L)	8,251	(22%)

(60, 75) Richard Polanco's second straight reelection without a Republican opponent.

DISTRICT 56 (74% D - 16% R)

Roybal-Allard (D*)	**15,716**	**(100%)**

(80) The Roybal family political dynasty is alive and well in East Los Angeles.

DISTRICT 57 (60% D - 30% R)

Elder (D*)	**31,953**	**(67%)**
Guarneri (R)	15,586	(33%)

(70, 69) Dave Elder's seventh term will begin in December after an uneventful reelection season.

DISTRICT 58 (39% D - 51% R)

Pryor (D)	40,651	(41%)
Mays (R)	**53,542**	**(54%)**
Stier (L)	4,513	(5%)

Incumbent Republican Dennis Brown decided not to seek reelection and will be succeeded by Huntington Beach Mayor Tom Mays. The district is about evenly divided between Los Angeles and Orange counties, and Democrat Luanne Pryor of Long Beach came within 100 votes of Mays in the Los Angeles portion. But she got clobbered in Orange County, where Republicans outnumber Democrats nearly two-to-one.

Mays

DISTRICT 59 (61% D - 29% R)

Becerra (D)	**34,549**	**(61%)**
Lieberg (R)	19,889	(35%)
Pencall (L)	2,325	(4%)

This election was decided in a spirited Democratic primary where deputy attorney general Xavier Becerra overcame two challengers, including the daughter of Congressman Marty Martinez. Becerra, an ally of state Senator Art Torres, replaces Democrat Charles Calderon, who was elected to the state Senate.

Becerra

DISTRICT 60 (60% D - 31% R)

Tanner (D*)	**25,346**	**(61%)**
Aguirre (R)	16,087	(39%)

(53, 66) Sally Tanner again beat back a challenge by a Latino Republican and now begins her seventh term in Sacramento.

DISTRICT 61 (39% D - 50% R)

Johnson (D)	41,036	(38%)
Woodruff (R*)	**61,093**	**(56%)**
Harbour (L)	6,169	(6%)

(62) San Bernardino County voters returned Paul Woodruff for his second term.

DISTRICT 62 (41% D - 50% R)

Calnan (D)	30,979	(36%)
Lancaster (R*)	**55,357**	**(64%)**

(72, 68) At the end of the new term, Bill Lancaster will have spent 20 years in the Assembly.

DISTRICT 63 (56% D - 36% R)

Epple (D*)	**36,625**	**(60%)**
Boggs (R)	24,834	(40%)

(50) Bob Epple had a much easier time this year than in 1988 when he ousted incumbent Republican Wayne Grisham in a race decided by a few hundred votes. Downey Councilwoman Diane Boggs seeded her warchest with $50,000 from her own pocket, but it wasn't enough.

DISTRICT 64 (35% D - 56% R)

Gardner (D)	29,203	(34%)
Johnson (R*)	**56,646**	**(66%)**

(73, 72) Ross Johnson's troubles began on election night when three Republican incumbents were defeated (see districts 72, 75 and 78). Some members of his caucus blame those losses on the way Johnson, the Assembly minority leader, handled the campaign. Just two days after the election, Johnson survived what is probably the first of many attempts to oust him from his leadership post.

DISTRICT 65 (41% D - 50% R)

Erwin (D)	38,184	(40%)
Brulte (R)	**56,967**	**(60%)**

Democrat Bob Erwin beat Republican Jim Brulte in the Los Angeles County portion of this district. Unfortunately for Erwin, only 10 percent of the district lies in Los Angeles County. The rest of it is in Orange County, where Brulte beat Erwin by nearly 18,000 votes. Brulte will replace former incumbent Charles Bader, who failed in his bid to move up to the state Senate. Brulte served on the Washington staff of former U.S. Senator Sam Hayakawa, on the staff of the Republican National Committee in Washington, at the Defense Department during the Reagan administration, and as an advance man for then-Vice President George Bush.

Brulte

DISTRICT 66 (57% D - 35% R)

Eaves (D*)	**44,290**	**(59%)**
Hall (R)	30,449	(41%)

(65, 55) Jerry Eaves is elected to his fourth Assembly term.

DISTRICT 67 (30% D - 60% R)

Smoller (D)	33,821	(33%)
Lewis (R*)	**68,861**	**(67%)**

(75, 74) An overwhelmingly Republican district.

DISTRICT 68 (53% D - 38% R)

Clute (D*)	**50,809**	**(58%)**
Hage (R)	37,551	(43%)

(50, 55) Despite growing GOP registration in this Riverside district, Republican candidates have never given voters a reason to dump incumbent Steve Clute, who now returns for his fifth foray into Sacramento. Hage is the latest GOP yawn. Although he sent out dozens of press releases, Hage was a one-note candidate whose expertise on mobile-home issues never translated into an understanding of the larger picture of government. As a result, Clute enjoyed his best performance at the polls in years.

DISTRICT 69 (32% D - 57% R)

Toledano (D)	37,458	(37%)
Frizzelle (R*)	**64,384**	**(63%)**

(70, 70) Six terms and counting for Republican Nolan Frizzelle.

DISTRICT 70 (27% D - 62% R)

Adler (D)	50,418	(35%)
Ferguson (R*)	**92,531**	**(65%)**

(72, 71) Democrat Howard Adler ran nine points ahead of Democratic registration — and still lost by plenty to bedrock conservative Gil Ferguson.

DISTRICT 71 (41% D - 50% R)

Mathews (D)	31,935	(40%)
Allen (R*)	**48,923**	**(61%)**

(64, 70) Two victories on election day for six-termer Doris Allen: her reelection to the Assembly and the success of Proposition 132, the "gill net initiative" sponsored by Allen.

DISTRICT 72 (52% D - 40% R)

Umberg (D)	**25,247**	**(52%)**
Pringle (R*)	23,411	(48%)

(50) Republican incumbent Curt Pringle

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

All of these bonds have been sold. This announcement appears as a matter of record only.

Fitch AA
Moody's con. (Aa)
S&P AAp

$302,186,113

State Public Works Board of the State of California Lease Revenue Bonds

The Regents of the University of California 1990 Series A

Various University of California Projects

J. P. Morgan Securities Inc.
acted as lead manager for this issue

JPMorgan

To find out how J. P. Morgan in San Francisco can assist you in your next financing call N. Ross Matthews, Managing Director, J. P. Morgan Securities Inc., at (415) 954-3227.

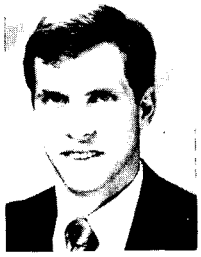
JPMorgan

© 1990 J. P. Morgan & Co. Incorporated

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was more than just an opponent for Democrats — he was a cause. Pringle, you may remember, accumulated an uncommon amount of political baggage for a freshman after his

Pringle



Umberg

1988 campaign hired election-day poll guards who allegedly intimidated Latinos into not voting. Pringle was sued as a result and settled out-of-court for mega-bucks. To defeat him, Democrats recruited Tom Umberg, who proved an attractive candidate in this moderate-to-conservative San Diego County district. As a former deputy U.S. attorney, Umberg was supported by many law-enforcement groups. In addition, he gained much sympathy and support in a district rife with military retirees after being activated by the Army Reserve for a few weeks in mid-September as part of the mobilization for action in the Middle East. Finally, Umberg's pro-choice stance, coupled with Pringle's role as an anti-abortion crusader, brought Umberg plenty of money and support from national pro-choice activists. Assembly Republican leader Ross Johnson weighed in heavily in an effort to save Pringle, an effort that sent negative ripples throughout Johnson's caucus. For instance, GOP incumbent Jeff Marston blamed the save-Pringle effort for drying up resources that he, Marston, could have used to stave off his razor-thin defeat in the neighboring 78th District.

DISTRICT 73 (40% D - 51% R)

Strait (D)	54,168	(44%)
Kelley (R*)	**69,513**	**(56%)**

(67, 67) Democrat Barry Strait made a determined run at seven-term incumbent Dave Kelley but came up about 10 percent short.

DISTRICT 74 (31% D - 56% R)

Franklin (D)	38,361	(31%)
Frazee (R*)	**69,786**	**(57%)**
Hunt (L)	9,528	(8%)
Rico-Webber (P&F)	4,862	(4%)

(87, 69) Voters in San Diego were grumpy with incumbents, regardless of political stripe. Not grumpy enough, however, to keep Bob Frazee out of Sacramento. He'll return for his seventh term.

DISTRICT 75 (33% D - 52% R)

Alpert (D)	**57,702**	**(46%)**
Mojonnier (R*)	51,770	(41%)
Murphy (L)	13,832	(11%)
Phuong Huynh (P&F)	3,024	(2%)

(69, 65) Republicans usually don't lose 52 percent GOP districts, especially when a four-term incumbent is holding down the fort. But Sunny Mojonnier was carrying so much baggage that her canoe sank at the dock. First, she was roughed up in the June primary when three opponents focused attention on her ethics problems, like the facts that she used Assembly employees to run personal errands, and paid a $13,000 fine to the attorney general for double-billing the state and her campaign for travel expenses. Also, the fact that Mojonnier was vacationing in Hawaii during critical voting on the state budget didn't help her image with voters. Finally, the incumbent seems to have been blindsided from the right; over 12,000 voters (10.9 percent) opted for Libertarian John Murphy. Mojonnier didn't get

Alpert

Mojonnier

much help from fellow Assembly Republicans because few of them expected her to be in trouble, despite her negatives. Democrat Deirdre Alpert weighed in with a campaign that focused heavily on those negatives and was helped more than most challengers by San Diego's anti-incumbent bent in this election.

DISTRICT 76 (31% D - 56% R)

Thorne (D)	39,167	(27%)
Hunter (R*)	**83,590**	**(58%)**
Holmes (L)	13,701	10%)
Kline (P&F)	6,930	(5%)

Incumbent Tricia Hunter won her first full term in the Assembly. She had been elected in a special election in 1989 to replace the late Bill Bradley.

DISTRICT 77 (36% D - 51% R)

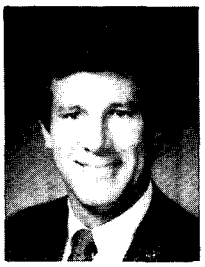
Connolly (D)	35,494	(35%)
Bentley (R*)	**54,417**	**(54%)**
Denis (L)	6,342	(6%)
Edelman (P&F)	5,066	(5%)

(64) Another incumbent from San Diego who saw nearly half her voting constituents opt for someone else.

DISTRICT 78 (44% D - 42% R)

Gotch (D)	**41,158**	**(45%)**
Marston (R)	40,530	(44%)
McWilliams (L)	5,572	(6%)
Bardell (P&F)	4,226	(5%)

Polls a few weeks before the election showed incumbent Jeff Marston holding a rather comfortable lead over Democrat Mike Gotch in their rematch from a June special election. That election filled a vacancy left by former Democratic incumbent Lucy Killea's departure for the state Senate. But Marston's lead was an illusion, a quirk of



Gotch

Marston

polling. The incumbent apparently knew it, but he couldn't convince Assembly Republican leaders that he was in trouble. Minority leader Ross Johnson is reported to have told Marston that he wasn't in the business of funding landslides. Well, the only thing that slid in this district was the roof, and that landed on Marston and Johnson. Gotch laid low for most of the election. Newspaper stories even commented on his lack of funds, saying he had little of it to run an effective advertising campaign. But Gotch's polls were showing that, despite his June loss to Marston, Gotch and not Marston had wide name recognition throughout the district. Marston needed to put himself on television to build his own name identification, but he couldn't raise the money to do it, and his cohorts in Sacramento were distracted by their unsuccessful effort to save Curt Pringle in the 72nd District. Thus, on election day, Marston joined Pringle in the ranks of the unemployed. Marston was also hurt by the presence of Libertarian Ed McWilliams who siphoned off some 5000 votes, many of which may have gone to the Republican. Ironically, some observers thought Gotch had lost the June election because Peace and Freedom candidate Jane Rocio Evans polled 4502 votes, the lion's share of which probably would have gone to Gotch. On the November ballot, P&F candidate Bob Bardell polled nearly 4000 votes.

DISTRICT 79 (55% D - 33% R)

Chacon (D*)	**31,523**	**(56%)**
Covalt (R)	20,323	(36%)
Terrill (P&F)	4,041	(7%)

(65, 69) Incumbent Peter Chacon survived a primary challenge from two fellow Democrats. As a result, his percentage of the vote dropped precipitously from previous elections.

DISTRICT 80 (50% D - 38% R)

Peace (D*)	**36,122**	**(58%)**
Kelly (R)	21,866	(35%)
Bell (AI)	2,792	(5%)
Myrseth (L)	1,865	(3%)

(65, 59) Peace will need a few more Democrats in the next reapportionment to feel truly secure in this fast-changing area of Imperial and San Diego counties.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Jim Bates

Doug Bosco

"Chip" Pashayan

Scandals topple three congressmen

By Jim Boren and Michael Doyle

Soon to become ex-congressmen, Doug Bosco and Charles "Chip" Pashayan are among the first direct political casualties of the nation's savings-and-loan debacle.

They are joined by a third California incumbent congressman, Democrat Jim Bates of San Diego. He was brought down after he was censored by the House for sexually harassing members of his own staff.

Three of the 15 incumbent House members nationwide to lose their seats in November, Bates, Bosco and Pashayan all differed significantly in both style and substance. But in the cases of Pashayan and Bosco, both found they were vulnerable to the same campaign charges of taint-by-association with controversial savings-and-loan figures, and both ultimately fell to challengers.

For Bosco, a Democrat from Sebastapol who represented the state's North Coast, and Pashayan, a Fresno Republican, the savings-and-loan issue provided challengers with political ammunition that seemed to be recharged by regular news reports. As the cost of the savings-and-loan cleanup escalated to about $500 billion, as financier Charles Keating Jr. was indicated and as details of Keating's political operations became public, the incumbents confronted an issue that just wouldn't go away.

The shorthand of reporting and the narrow focus of negative campaign ads may well have exaggerated the personal role these incumbents played in the overall savings-and-loan crisis. Their interest in local thrifts that eventually collapsed could conveniently be translated into symbols for the larger crisis.

"For an incumbent to lose, everything has to go perfectly. That's why so few are defeated across the country," said Democratic pollster John Fairbank. "The incumbent has to have some vulnerabilities."

The savings and loan crisis was not fatal for all incumbents. Some high-ranking members of the House

---

Michael Doyle is a reporter in the Washington D.C. bureau of McClatchy Newspapers. Jim Boren is the political writer for The Fresno Bee.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee who played a much more direct role in deregulating thrifts in the 1980s, like Illinois Democrat Frank Annunzio, survived.

But Bosco and Pashayan found that their challengers' allegations of ethical messiness made a potent mixture when combined with other time-honored charges such as being out of touch with the district.

"It provided our campaign with a method to give the voters of this district a compelling reason to look at Mr. Pashayan's record and question his priorities," said Calvin Dooley, who beat Pashayan by a 55-45 margin.

Pashayan acknowledged that he suffered politically from the savings-and-loan charges that were the centerpiece of Dooley's campaign. But Pashayan, first elected in 1978, also thinks his service on the House Ethics Committee during the protracted investigation of former House Speaker Jim Wright also contributed to his defeat.

"I put in 20 to 40 hours a week on the Wright investigation and ended up not coming to the district as often as I should have," Pashayan said. "That was my fault. I think I was out of touch with district voters."

Bosco attributed his own defeat in part to the presence of a third-party candidate — Peace and Freedom Party member Darlene Comingore. Comingore received nearly 15 percent of the vote by articulating a strong liberal and environmental message.

"It is safe to say there is a very active liberal community throughout the North Coast, and their disaffection with me wasn't a secret," Bosco told reporters after conceding defeat.

The only other California incumbent to lose his seat in November, San Diego Democrat Bates, likewise labored under a burden. In 1989 the House Ethics Committee reprimanded Bates for sexually harassing two female aides. Like Bosco, Bates also suffered from the presence of third-party candidates who drew off probable Democratic voters.

The fact that Bates was pitted against Randy, "Duke" Cunningham didn't help matters. Cunningham used to command the "enemy" pilot wing at the San Diego naval air base where "top gun" pilots are trained. Cunningham hammered away at how his "family values" contrasted with those of Bates.

Bosco's vulnerability on the thrift front stemmed from his association with Centennial Savings and Loan of Santa Rosa. As detailed in the book "Inside Job," Bosco borrowed nearly $200,000 from Centennial; he also received campaign contributions from Centennial officials and flew on the corporate jet. When federal regulators seized Centennial in 1985, Bosco said that he was outraged and would personally investigate the matter.

Bosco has said he never asked for any favors from Centennial; nor, he said, did Centennial seek any favors from him. Nonetheless, challenger Riggs picked up political mileage by charging Bosco with "consorting with scoundrels."

Pashayan had the political misfortune of being tied to the Mr. Big of the savings-and-loan crisis, indicated financier Charles Keating Jr. Though Keating has not been convicted of any crimes associated with the collapse of his Lincoln Savings and Loan, his name has become absolute political poison; and in the case of five senators charged with intervening on his behalf, he has become nearly synonymous with the national crisis.

Thus, Pashayan's receipt of $26,000 in campaign contributions from Keating and his associates in 1986 ripened into a pungent campaign issue. Pashayan attributed the contributions to a shared interest in fighting pornography, but this explanation didn't seem to resonate with voters. Pashayan eventually returned the contributions last year, one day before former chief federal thrift regulator Ed Gray criticized him sharply before a congressional panel.

Pashayan maintains that he never did anything for Keating. Rather, he vigorously lobbied Gray and other regulators for rule changes that would have benefited a thrift in his district, Presidio Savings and Loan of Tulare County. As it turned out, Lincoln and Presidio both would have benefited from Pashayan's efforts, had they been fruitful.

Federal regulators finally shut down Presidio for good in 1986 and charged some of its operators with losing millions of dollars in bad loans and risky speculation. Pashayan continued his intervention on Presidio's behalf even after the thrift was closed, but it was Keating's name and not Presidio's well-documented problems that seemed to hurt Pashayan the most.

The extent of their vulnerabilities seemed to catch both Bosco and Pashayan by surprise. Pashayan showed his lack of concern with a lackluster fund-raising effort during the first half of the year; through June, he was in the unusual position for an incumbent of having raised less money than both Democratic challengers.

"It took us a long time to convince him he had a serious race," said Ed Rollins, co-chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee. "We did get him convinced in the end ... [but] there was just so much stuff that broke that he couldn't get his message across."

Advertisement

The Competitive Edge-

A degree in public administration, business, management or law from Golden Gate University

For the convenience of working adults, Golden Gate University offers:

- evening and weekend classes
- classes taught by accomplished scholars and top business professionals
- degree programs in many career fields leading to bachelor's, master's and law degrees
- convenient locations in Sacramento and the San Francisco Bay Area

Sacramento
916/648-1446

Bay Area Locations
415/442-7800

GOLDEN GATE UNIVERSITY · FOUNDED IN 1901

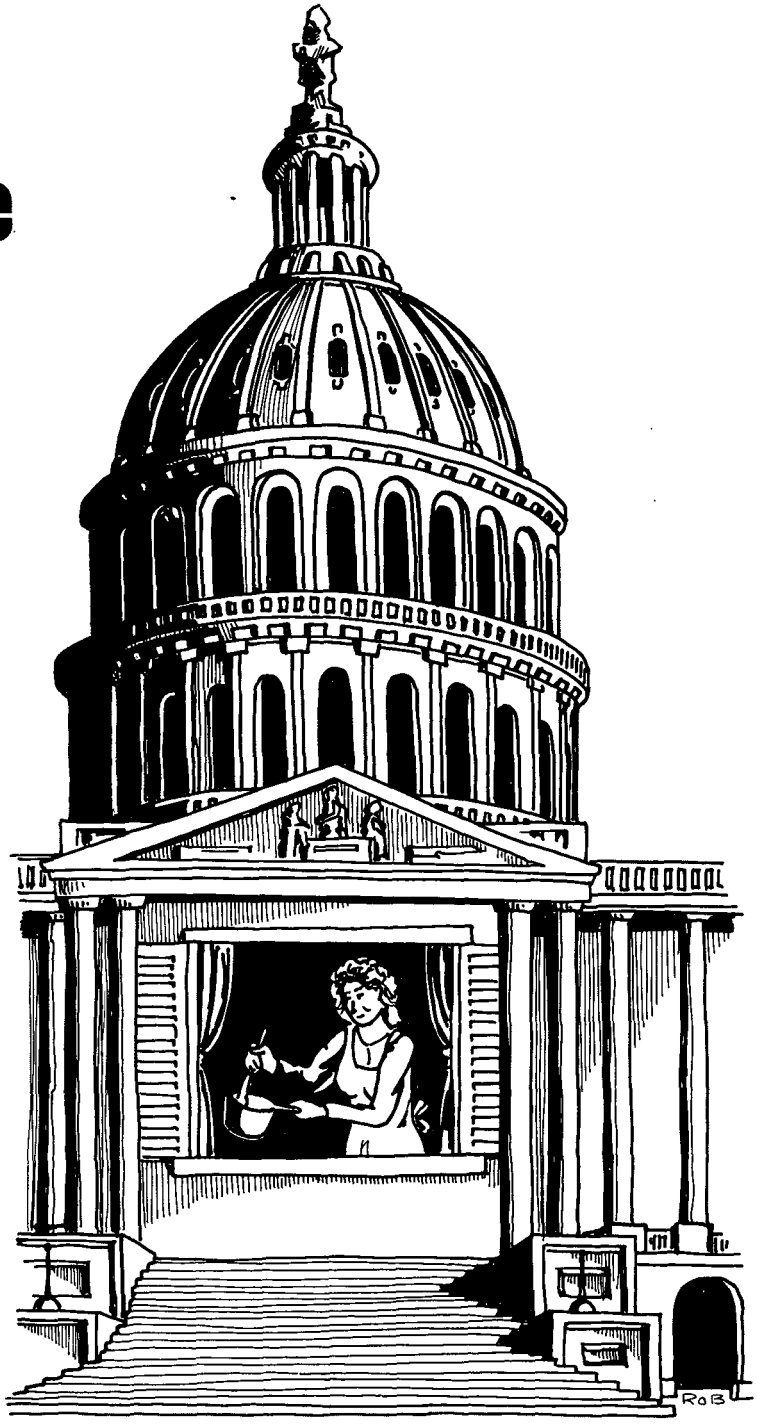
Golden Gate University, a private, nonprofit institution of higher education founded in San Francisco in 1901, is accredited by the Western Association of Schools and Colleges

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

POLITICAL SPOUSES

They, too, serve who only stand and smile

By Michael Doyle



A new troupe of congressional spouses takes the stage with the November elections. They may not be the star attractions, but they have their own lines to learn, roles to play and pressures to bear. And for some, prices to pay.

Luana Shumway knows well the price of playing dutiful congressional wife. Since her husband, Stockton Republican Norm Shumway, first won election to the House of Representatives in 1978, she did all that was expected of her. She campaigned when it was election season, she smilingly attended Capitol Hill political receptions and in all ways stood by her man.

Earlier this year, the 53-year-old mother of six began to shut down. Mental and physical fatigue drained her during the moody month of February, even as her husband started preparing for another reelection campaign. She began to despair at the thought of rousing herself for yet another summer of campaigning in the far-flung 14th Congressional District, a summer in which she would have taken residence in San Joaquin County to provide a full-time campaign presence.

Finally, Luana let her long-suppressed feelings come to the surface in painful family discussions.

"I thought I just couldn't do it anymore," Luana said. "I said, 'You can run with my blessing, but I will not be there with you.'"

Continued on next page

Michael Doyle is a reporter in the Washington bureau of McClatchy Newspapers.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

On March 1st Norm Shumway announced he would retire from the House at the end of the year. Coming barely a week before the filing deadline for congressional candidates, the announcement broke new emotional ground for one of the House's most staunchly conservative members.

"It is my wife who needs and deserves my time and concern," Shumway said at the time. "The years of chronic, unrelenting stress have been debilitating, leaving emotional scars which demand my immediate attention."

While Shumway's decision to leave Congress for the sake of his wife was relatively unusual, the tensions that build up within a political household are all too common. Long workdays, frequent absences, constant performance pressure and the social hothouse of Capitol Hill all take their toll.

Living in the public eye, where family photos are folded into campaign literature, makes it especially hard for the pressure to be relieved. The wife's smiling face can become a wall, holding back the thoughts that will not go away.

"None of us ever talk about it, and we all know it's there," Luana said. "We're politicians' wives and we don't want to be quoted by anybody with a negative thought, even by each other."

On the national level, political spouses such as Betty Ford and Kitty Dukakis have amply testified to the potentially warping influence of the public spotlight. But the drama of self-exposure, as when Kitty Dukakis travels the country to promote her new autobiography describing her addiction to alcohol and prescription drugs, can overshadow a quieter and more persistent pain. Spouses of military officers, business executives and others in the public eye can feel it too, but there seems to be a special pressure placed on those whose spouse's job depends on formal expressions of public approval.

"You put on a happy face," said Phyllis Coelho, the well-adjusted wife of former House Majority Whip Tony Coelho. "You have to put on your best face, whether you feel good or not."

Phyllis faced particular challenges during her husband's 11-year congressional career, which ended with Coelho's surprise resignation last summer. A driven, ambitious man, Tony Coelho traveled the nation for six years as chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee. If he wasn't in his central California district on a weekend, he was somewhere else trying to raise money for Democrats; 51 weekends out of one year, he recalled, he was away from home on political business.

"It was ridiculous," Phyllis said. "He was literally never around. We had a telephone marriage."

On the weekdays when Coelho was in town, Phyllis said the only way she could see her husband was to attend political receptions. These carried their own price; Phyllis recalled spending "tons of money" on babysitters.

Luana Shumway said she would take the bus and subway to Washington on evenings, traveling about 45 minutes from her northern Virginia home. Smile in place, curiosity turned on, she would join her husband at two or three receptions, and then at a dinner with someone who mattered politically. The Shumways would arrive back home about 10 p.m.; sometimes, they would repeat this schedule two or three times a week.

"He was home so little that when he was home, we were trying to make that a pleasant experience," Luana said. "There would be days on end where [the children] wouldn't see him."

Working outside the home can help — Phyllis Coelho kept her Capitol Hill job — but that too can be sacrificed to politics.

When the wife of Fresno Republican Charles "Chip" Pashayan filed for divorce last year, she included in court papers a concise example of how politics can become all-consuming.

"At the time of our marriage, I was employed full-time at the White House visitor's office," Sallie Pashayan wrote in a court declaration. "I loved my job and did not want to leave it. However, [Pashayan] wanted me to be available to travel with him to promote his reelection during the 1986 campaign. I remained at the White house on a part-time basis and, as we had agreed, devoted myself to the furtherance of [his] career."

Though Pashayan's divorce became more public than most, with his wife accusing him of hitting her and having a "violent temper," divorce is not an uncommon outlet for political wives.

Republican Senator Pete Wilson is now on his second marriage; his Democratic colleague Alan Cranston has been married twice and is now single. Cranston's aborted plans for a third marriage, moreover, suggest how political pressures can squeeze relationships.

When reporters learned of Cranston's latest marriage plans, his fiancee was queried about whether she had any financial ties to financier Charles Keating Jr. The questions came as Cranston himself remained under scrutiny for his intervention on behalf of Keating's thrift; unwilling, he said, to let his wife become subject to such invasions of privacy, Cranston called the wedding off.

There's another coping mechanism as well, and that's for the spouse to avoid living in Washington altogether. There can be a financial reason for this, as couples avoid owning two houses, but there can also be the simple reason that the spouse doesn't like living in Washington D.C.

California's two congresswomen, Democrats Nancy Pelosi of San Francisco and Barbara Boxer of Marin County, both maintain bi-coastal marriages. Pelosi's husband Paul is a businessman in San Francisco and Boxer's husband Stewart has retained his Oakland-based law business. Neither husband returned calls seeking comment about their lives as congressional spouses; it's a topic, one gets the impression, they have little interest in discussing with a reporter.

Boxer said her husband originally stayed on the west coast both for the sake of his own law practice and so their two children could finish high school in California. She flies to California every weekend when Congress is in session. By making the arrangement a "family adventure," she said, problems can be overcome.

"I really learned to parent by telephone," Boxer said. "It's hard, [but] I tried to make it as normal as I could."

The wives of Democrats George Miller of Martinez and Leon Panetta of Carmel Valley both remain in California and see their husbands on their weekend trips to the district. Panetta's wife, Sylvia, runs her husband's district office. The wife of Sanger Democrat Richard Lehman did the same for several years before the couple went through what Lehman describes as an amicable divorce last year. The wife of Ceres Democrat Gary Condit has also remained in the small San Joaquin Valley town since her husband's election last September.

"I don't have any gripes," Carolyn Condit said. "I see Gary just as much as some of my friends see their husbands ... so far, we haven't missed a weekend together."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books from California Journal

NEW! California Government and Politics Annual, 1990-91. Published every year, the *Annual* consists of reprints of *California Journal* articles covering the various branches of government, elections, political reform, lobbying, finance, local government, the environment and much more. 8½ x 11", 128 pages. $7.95 paper.

Almanac of California Government and Politics, 7th Edition. Contains 192 photographs and biographies of the state's leaders, maps, historical information on all branches of state government, election statistics and population information, and much more. 1989, 5½ x 8½", 185 pages. *Special Savings!* Was $8.95, now $6.95.

Cartoon History of California Politics, *by Ed Salzman and Ann Leigh Brown.* An entertaining history of the state as drawn by political cartoonists from Nast to Conrad. This handsomely-bound book contains 119 cartoons, most of them covering a full page. An ideal gift for yourself or a friend. 1978, 8 x 3", 156 pages, paperback. Price: $5.95.

Index. A yearly index to the *California Journal* for fast and easy research. 1970-89. Turns your magazine into a state government reference library. $10.00 per year.

Reporting: An Inside View, *by Lou Cannon.* How many of us know what really goes on behind the scenes in the complex process that determines what is and what isn't fit to print? Anyone interested in the workings of the press will find *Reporting: An Inside View* fascinating reading. 1977. 6 x 9", 308 pages. $9.95 cloth, $4.95 paper.

California's Budget Dance: Issues and Process, *by Richard Krolak.* California's $50 billion budget is where the action is when it comes to programs and policy in the nation's largest state. But the budget process is complicated and murky, often taking place behind closed doors. Now comes *California's Budget Dance,* a 128-page book that clearly outlines the steps, the schedule, the players and the politics of the process. The secret's out now; anyone can be a force in the process and understand what's going on. 1990, 5½ x 8½", 116 pages. $7.95, paper.

Please add 6.75% sales tax plus $2.50 handling to each order. Use the handy insert card to place orders. Or just write your own and send it with payment (VISA and MasterCard numbers accepted) to California Journal Press, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, CA 95814.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WASHINGTON PERSPECTIVE

By LARRY LIEBERT

Cranston's exit

"I must concentrate on defeating this thing," Alan Cranston vowed with the same singleness of purpose that the 76-year-old senator had always summoned when the task at hand was demolishing a political opponent, raising millions of dollars from campaign contributors or beating back an unwelcome piece of legislation.

IN HIS SHOCKING ANNOUNCEMENT on November 8th, however, Cranston was not addressing such familiar tasks. Nor was he discussing the ordeal of ethics hearings on his role in the savings and loan scandals.

For days, rumors had spread in Washington that Cranston, facing near-certain defeat, would withdraw his candidacy for reelection to the leadership post of Senate majority whip. Perhaps, it was said, he would even announce that he had abandoned his stubborn hopes of somehow winning another Senate term in 1992. It would have been a concession to grim reality because Cranston's ethics troubles ran deep and his chances of winning back the support of fed-up constituents in California seemed virtually nil.

But Cranston was never a quitter. In fact, the very notion of retirement seemed utterly alien to him. As has been noted in this column previously, the senator has long held a passionate belief in physical fitness and in research to extend life.

It was sadly ironic, therefore, that what ultimately stopped Cranston was a glimpse of mortality. He announced that he was giving up his whip's job and his California reelection hopes because he is suffering from prostate cancer.

"The physicians tell me that the cancer is, apparently, totally curable," Cranston said. "But immediate treatment is necessary. A positive factor is my otherwise robust health."

Nonetheless, Cranston apparently waited to see the results of the election in California before making his announcement two days later. Perhaps Cranston would have at least considered quitting the Senate early next year if Dianne Feinstein had won the governor's race, guaranteeing that a Democrat would appoint his successor. But with Republican Pete Wilson as the new governor, Cranston has an extra-strong incentive to persevere for the full two years remaining in his term.

As it is, Wilson will get to appoint his own successor to the Senate in January. A premature retirement by Cranston would give the Republican the extraordinary opportunity to hand-pick two senators.

In any case, the combination of Wilson's political success and Cranston's medical misfortune guarantee that California will have two novice senators — thus, no seniority — within two years. In effect, it will be a test case of the suddenly fashionable concept of "term limits," as applied to the Senate seats of the largest state.

And 1992 will be a test of mega-state political campaigning run amok. California voters will be subjected to two hotly-contested Senate races, not to mention the presidential campaign and the contests for reapportioned congressional and legislative seats.

In November, political maneuvering and speculation revolved around whom Pete Wilson would pick as his Senate successor. One possibility was Ed Zschau, the moderate Silicon Valley exec who lost a Senate race to Cranston in 1986. Zschau seemed an attractive candidate, and he proved quite a draw for political contributions. He lost narrowly — but lose he did. Wilson would displease some of his Jewish supporters by choosing Zschau, whose support for Israel hasn't been unconditional. Zschau, however, removed his name from consideration.

Wilson has promised to name a "pro-choice" senator, which would appear to rule out many anti-abortion Republicans, including Representatives Jerry Lewis of Redlands and David Dreier of La Verne. Lewis is well-respected in Washington but little-known in most of California. Dreier is an ambitious conservative who keeps more than $1 million in political contributions hoarded for just such an opportunity as a Senate campaign.

If the cautious Wilson chose to break some new ground by appointing a woman or minority, the possibilities would include U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills, state Senator Becky Morgan of Los Altos Hills or Orange County Supervisor Gaddi Vasquez.

But this dream job has strings attached. Instead of enjoying the customary security of a six-year Senate term, Wilson's appointee must stand for election in 1992 and yet again in 1994, when the normal term for that Senate seat expires. It's no wonder some Republicans, and plenty of Democrats, are eyeing instead the 1992 contest for Cranston's seat. Among the Democrats, Representatives Barbara Boxer of San Francisco and Robert Matsui of Sacramento have already declared their interest in it.

OTHER DEMOCRATS EXPECTED TO CONSIDER a run for one or the other of the Senate seats include Representative Mel Levine of Los Angeles and former Governor Jerry Brown, who lost to Wilson in 1982. (Brown's chances for a comeback may have been fatally damaged by his poor performance as state Democratic Party chairman. Wilson credited his victory to a massive absentee-ballot campaign that Brown failed to match.)

Another Democrat who is considering the Senate races is Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy (who lost to Wilson in 1988.) And then there's Dianne Feinstein, the candidate who just barely lost the governor's race to Wilson. All of which brings to mind a broader question: How should such plucky losers be regarded when they ask for another chance? Should Feinstein, for instance, be treasured by Democrats as a proven, effective campaigner? Or should she be encouraged to retire from politics as a proven failure?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Check It Out!

You'll find many familiar brand names in this shopping cart. A lot of them probably appear in your own cart at the supermarket each week. But it may surprise you to learn that all of these products and even more are brought to you by the same family of companies. Philip Morris markets high-quality consumer products under more than 365 brand names, operates plants in over 350 U.S. cities and creates jobs for more than 157,000 people worldwide.

Familiar names from the Philip Morris family, committed to the production of quality products while generating economic growth.

PHILIP MORRIS
COMPANIES INC.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It's time to stand and deliver for all our children's future.

We, at ARCO, have always taken a stand when it comes to education.

Since 1983, we've stood behind Jaime Escalante and his calculus program at Garfield High School in East Los Angeles.

We helped fund the award winning movie "Stand and Deliver", inspired by Jaime, his students and the obstacles they overcame.

For years, ARCO has been a major supporter of educational programs aimed at kids from every economic and ethnic background.

So, join us as we continue to stand and deliver for the education of our children.

America's most valuable natural resource.

ARCO
The high energy company.

Lod Cook
CEO, ARCO

Jaime Escalante
Garfield High School

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED